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HAJI MOHAMMAD MOHSIN.

LIFE. AND WORKS OF AMIR KHUSRAU

(continued.)

No biographer of Amir Khusrau can afford to ignore the influence exercised on him by Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia." Different as were their characters and temperaments, their admiration for each other was genuine and sincere. The course of their early lives had been utterly dissimilar. Shaikh Nizamuddin's paternal grandfather, Khwaja Syed Ali, had emigrated from Bokhara and settled in Badaun, where the Shaikh was born in 1238 A.D. While he was yet a child, his father, Syed Ahmad, fell ill and his mother, Bibi Zulaikha, dreamt that a voice was asking her to choose between her husband and her son. With the eternal instinct of the Indian mother, Bibi Zulaikha preferred to save her son, and as destiny would have it, Syed Ahmad died soon after. Bibi Zulaikha was a lady of fervent piety and her character left a deep impression on the son, whom she adored and managed to educate in conditions of appalling poverty. Mother and son had no means of livelihood except what their neighbours brought to them unasked, and their maid-servant ran away from the starving household. Nevertheless the Shaikh, who was remarkable for his diligence, learnt all that Badaun had to teach and at the age of sixteen went with his mother and sister to complete his studies at Delhi. The great capital was then full of scholars and men of learning; education was practically free; and a student so remarkable as the Shaikh had access to the best teachers. His principal tutor, Maulana Kamaluddin Zahid, was distinguished by remarkable independence of character. Sultan Ghiasuddin Balban, having heard of Maulana Zahid's piety, invited him to the court and offered him the post of Head Imam. "Our prayer is all that is left to us," the Maulana replied; "Does the Sultan wish to seize that also?" Balban was struck dumb and after a brief apology allowed the Maulana to depart. From such a scholar Shaikh Nizamuddin obtained his final certificate at the age of twenty, and

" Popular usage nowadays divides Indian Mussalmans into Syeds, Mughals, Pathans and a fourth, an extensive and nondescript class, designated as Shaikhs. In medieval India, however, a *shaikh* meant an eminent mystic or a saint. I have used the term in its old significance,

perhaps also imbibed that indifference towards men of worldly grandeur that distinguished him throughout his life.

Though he had hitherto followed the normal course of studies, the Shaikh's mind was always inclined towards mysticism, and he often told his comrades that he would not for long remain in the atmosphere of their literary discussions. At the age of twelve he had heard a *qawwāl* ³³ praise the piety of Shaikh Farīd Ganj Shakar of Ajodhan; ever since then he had developed an extraordinary reverence for that saint and as soon as his studies were completed he went to see him. "Every newcomer is nervous," Shaikh Farid replied on seeing that the young man was unable to speak from fear, and soon put him at his ease. Shaikh Nizamuddin shaved his head and was enrolled among the disciples. He was, of course, absolutely penniless; a kindly lady washed his clothes when they became too dirty to be worn any longer and Shaikh Farid presented him with a gold coin when he was about to leave for Delhi. But it was the last coin of Shaikh Farid's household, and that very evening Shaikh Nizamuddin discovered that his master and his master's family would have to go without dinner because they lacked the means of purchasing it. The disciple laid the master's gift again at his feet. It was gratefully accepted. "I have prayed to God to grant you a portion of earthly goods," said Shaikh Farid in blessing on the young disciple, and then seeing his anxiety added, "Have no fear about it; *for you the world shall not be a temptation.*" The master's discerning eyes had not failed to see the greatness of his successor.

There have been distinguished men in all religions whose life has been a continuous struggle against the world, the flesh and the devil; who have fought and, to a considerable extent, succeeded in the great battle that is supposed to be constantly raging between the higher and the lower elements of human nature. Shaikh Nizamuddin was *not* one of them. He is not recorded to have recited a surprising number of prayers; he did not, like Shaikh Farid, hang himself by his feet in a well or bring himself to the verge of death by unending fasts. There was no element of asceticism in him, because for him the ascetic discipline was not necessary. He did not exorcise the devil by torture or self-mortification, which very often only substitute morbidity for worldiness, but ruled him out by the quiet joy that inspired his heart. He never married and never possessed a house of his own. People observed that his eyes were red in the morning after his night-long meditation,

³³ A reciter of mystic verses.

like those of one who is slightly tipsy, and an indescribable happiness shone on his face. There was nothing in the external circumstances of his life to explain this inner bliss.

"I have given you the spiritual empire of Hindustan," Shaikh Farid had told him, "Go and take it." But Shaikh Nizamuddin on returning to Delhi was for long undecided as to whether he should remain at the capital or select a provincial town for his residence. This is the only inner struggle that seems to have taken place in his mind; but ultimately he decided to face his duty boldly by living and working in the great metropolis. There followed over thirty years of appalling poverty. He first stayed in the house of Imadul Mulk, Amir Khusrāu's maternal grandfather, who was generally known as the Rawab-i Arz, but after two years Imadul Mulk's sons returned to Delhi and summarily evicted the Shaikh from their house. He sought refuge in a thatched mosque near by, and that very night Imadul Mulk's house caught fire and was burnt to ashes. Thereafter, till his final settlement at Ghiaspur, he kept wandering from one quarter of the city to another. He had no means of his own and never condescended to ask any one for help. "In the days of Ghiasuddin Balban," the Shaikh used to say in later life, "melons were sold at the rate of one *jital* per maund, but very often the season passed away without my being able to taste a slice..... On one occasion I had to go without food for a night and a day, and half the second night had passed before I got anything to eat; two seers of bread could be had for a *jital*, but from sheer poverty I was unable to purchase anything in the market. My mother, sister and other persons in my house suffered along with me. On one occasion we had starved for three days when a man knocked at my door with a bowl of *khichri*."⁴⁴ I have never found anything so delicious as that plain *khichri* appeared to me then. "We are the guests of God to-day" my mother used to say when we had no food left in the house, and an indescribable joy overpowered my heart at these words. Once I dreamt that Shaikh Najibuddin Mutawakkil, brother of Shaikh Farid, had come to our house and I asked my mother to get something for him to eat.. "But there is no food in our house," she replied. Soon after I dreamt that the Holy Prophet was coming with his Companions; I kissed his feet and requested him to visit my house. "What for?" "I will place before you and your Companions whatever dinner I can provide." "But has not your mother told you just now that there is no food in your house?" the Prophet replied. I felt

⁴⁴ A simple dish of lentils boiled with rice.

thoroughly ashamed at my position. The venerable mother bore everything bravely along with her son, whose peace of mind no earthly misfortunes could disturb, but the continued starvation was perhaps too much for her health. "Whose feet will you kiss next month, Nizam?" she asked him during her last illness, when he had placed his head on her feet after seeing the new moon. "And to whose care will you assign me, mother?" the son inquired. Before the morning had dawned she called him to her bed-side. "Almighty God," said she and took his hand in hers, "I assign my son to Thy care"—and with these words on her lips the venerable lady passed away.

Meanwhile the Shaikh's fame had been spreading far and wide, and every one who came in contact with him was captivated by the strange happiness that radiated from him. In 666 A.H. Shaikh Farid made him his chief disciple, and just before his death ordered his cloak, staff and prayer-carpet to be conveyed to Shaikh Nizamuddin, to the intense annoyance of his own children, who expected to succeed to the profitable post. Sultan Jalaluddin offered to endow a village for the Shaikh's expenses; the disciples who had collected round him protested that they had suffered as much as they could stand, but in spite of their protests, the offer was firmly refused. The Sultan next asked for an interview; it was not granted; and when the Sultan resolved to make a surprise visit, the Shaikh, who had come to know of the design from Amir Khusrau, avoided the interview by undertaking a journey to Ajodhan. The Shaikh had made up his mind to keep aloof from politics and nothing would turn him from the resolution. But it was impossible for the teacher, who had opened his door wide to all who came, to keep politicians away. In the beginning of Alauddin's reign, the nobles began to visit his monastery at Ghiaspur; the Shaikh was annoyed at their visits but did not refuse to see them. Gradually their number increased. Towards the end of Alauddin's reign the Shaikh's reputation reached its full height. Khizr Khan, the heir-apparent, became a firm believer in the Shaikh and every member of the Imperial family and every servant of the palace joined the great discipleship. The Sultan himself was the only exception. "What sort of heart was Alauddin's!" the pious Barni remarks, "How indifferent and bold! From thousands of farsangs travellers and students came to pay their respects to the Shaikh; the young and old of the city, scholars and common people, the wise and the foolish, all tried by thousands of tricks to present themselves before him; but it never came to Alauddin's mind that he too should either visit the

Shaikh or invite him to the Court."³⁵ The Emperor and the Shaikh were, in fact, too great in their own departments to have anything more than a distant respect for each other. Alauddin cared as little for saints as the Shaikh did for politicians. In his own erratic way he had made up his mind to bend his sinful knees before God alone.

Thanks to the *Malfuzats* of Amir Khusrāu and Amir Hasan and the *Siyarul Aulia* of Amir Khurd, Shaikh Nizamuddin at the fullness of his reputation and influence is better known to us than any other figure in medieval India. "He opened wide the doors of his discipleship and confessed all sinners—nobles and commoners, rich and poor, *maliks* and beggars, soldiers and civilians, free-men and slaves." Forenoon and afternoon and the hours after sunset were specially dedicated to those who came to consult him; but he was always accessible and seldom kept any one waiting. The work of a Shaikh was to educate the people in virtue and goodness, and to this task Shaikh Nizamuddin applied himself with singular devotion throughout his long and useful life.³⁶ "People of every class came to his monastery and he talked to each, according to his knowledge and status; and every one who visited the Shaikh felt himself captivated. Besides a thin volume of *malfuzat* Shaikh Nizamuddin never cared to write anything, and the surviving works of his disciples can but dimly give us the impression of a personality which was as unique as it was fascinating. No Indo-Muslim mystic has left such a deep impression on his contemporaries. "No deed will bring a greater reward on the Day of Judgment," he used to say, "than bringing happiness to the hearts of Mussalmans and of men." And yet, in spite of the fact that he was mixing and talking with all who came, people felt that the Shaikh's heart was always "turned towards God as if he was looking at him."³⁷ "The

³⁵ In the face of Barni's assertion, Amir Khurd's statement that Alauddin wished to see the Shaikh, but that the latter refused to see him and declared that he would leave his house by one door as the Emperor entered it by the other, cannot be accepted. Another story of Amir Khurd is more acceptable. Alauddin, who had an innate suspicion of the political ambitions of religious men—a suspicion not unjustified in many cases, wrote a letter to the Shaikh and offered to be guided by his directions in all matters. But Shaikh Nizamuddin did not even care to open the letter which was given to him by Khizr Khan. "We darweshes have nothing to do with the affairs of the state;" he replied, "I have settled in a corner apart from the men of the City and spend my time in praying for the Sultan and all other Mussalmans. If the Sultan does not like it, let him tell me so. I will go and live elsewhere. God's earth is extensive enough." The reply convinced Alauddin that the Shaikh had no political designs.

³⁶ *Siyarul Aulia*.

³⁷ *Ka-annah mutawajjihun ilaihi*.

annals of hagiology are strewn with the records of meaningless miracles, but Shaikh Nizamuddin was not a miracle monger of the ordinary sort. He never flew in the air, or walked on water with dry and motionless feet. His greatness was the greatness of a loving heart; his miracles were the miracles of a deeply sympathetic soul. He could read a man's inner heart by a glance at his face and spoke the words that brought consolation to tortured hearts.

(1) Khwaja Mubarak of Gopamau used to get a robe of honour from Sultan Alauddin whenever he presented himself at the Court, but on one occasion the Sultan only bestowed a white sheet on him, and the Khwaja, greatly pained at this change in the Sultan's attitude, came to see Shaikh Nizamuddin. The latter looked at him tenderly and said: "A King's gift is a thing of value, be it a gold coin or a shell." "My heart rejoiced at the words," the Khwaja declared later, "and my despondency disappeared." (2) A young sceptic once presented himself with his friends before the Shaikh, and along with the sweetmeats brought by his friends, he placed a little sand wrapped in paper before the Shaikh. When the servants came to remove the presents, the Shaikh ordered them to leave the packet of sand where it was. "This antimony," he said, "is specially meant for my eyes." The young man trembled and confessed but the Shaikh presented him with a dress and tried to console him. "If you are in need of food or money," he asked, "tell me so and I will do what I can." (3) In the period of his poverty the Shaikh once sat down to eat a few crumbs of bread after he had gone without food for two days. But a beggar who passed that way imagined that the Shaikh had finished his dinner and very unceremoniously took away the crumbs from the table cloth. The Shaikh smiled cheerfully, "Our sufferings," he said, "must have been accepted by the Lord that He tries us further." (4) A visitor, who saw the Shaikh and his disciples starving, offered to teach him alchemy. But the Shaikh would have none of it. "Mixing colours," he said, "is the work of Christians and accumulating gold is the task of Jews. We, Mussalmans, do not wish for the goods of this world or the next. We live for the Lord alone."

Call such things miracles, if you please, provided by a miracle is not meant something morally irrational or meaningless. The Shaikh's life was, in fact, the embodiment of what psychological research shall one day prove to be the deepest principle of our human nature: that salvation, or happiness in its highest form, lies not in a war with the attractions of worldly life or in indifference to them, but in the healthy development of the 'cosmic emotion,' in a sympathetic identification of the individual with his environment, so that the distinction of the *I* and *not-I* disappears in a mystic absorption of the human soul in the Absolute. God is not so much a Creator to be acknowledged as an Existence to be felt,—felt not as an abstraction but as a reality embodied in the living and inanimate creatures around us. And this salvation is not something to be obtained in the world beyond; it is to be attained by progressive stages, here and now, or it will never be

reached at all.³⁸ The blessing of Shaikh Farid accompanied his disciple throughout his life. *'For him the world was never a temptation.'* When in later life presents began to come to him from all sides, he distributed them to the needy with a liberal hand, and every Friday the kitchen and pantry were swept clear before the saint went for his prayer. Sumptuous dishes were placed before his visitors, but the saint, who fasted almost every day, dined only on plain bread with some vegetable. And when a follower remonstrated against his continued abstinence, he replied that 'while so many poor and miserable men were starving in the mosques and before the shops in the market, it was impossible for a morsel to pass down his throat.' His sleep was as meagre as his diet; he slept a little at midday and rested a little before midnight. But after midnight, when everyone had gone to bed, the Shaikh locked the door of his bedroom and kept meditating, reading, praying and reciting verses till the morning. "In silence, I and the lamp keep each other company till the break of day; sometimes I extinguish it with the coldness of my sighs, at other times I make it burn brighter with the fire of my soul." He had a delightful time of it. "Every night when the morning is approaching," the Shaikh said once, "a verse comes into my mind which brings me great inspiration and delight. This morning I recollected these lines:—

The garment by Thy separation torn, "
Living, once more, once more, re-knit I must.

And if I die, accept my frank excuse,
—Alas, the hopes that crumble into dust!

But when I was reciting it a second time, a woman appeared before me and with great humility requested me not to continue the recitation." "Was it in a dream?" asked one, Qazi Sharfuddin. "No. I was wide awake," answered the Shaikh, "I saw her as clearly as I see you." "Then this woman was the symbol of the world which did not wish you to leave her," the Qazi remarked. "You are right," said the Shaikh.

³⁸ Or, as in Kabir, whose character and thought in some respects closely resembles Shaikh Nizamuddin's: "In life deliverance abides. If your bonds be not broken while living, what hope of deliverance in death? If He is found now, He is found then. If not, we go but to dwell in the city of death." Kabir says: "It is the spirit of the quest which helps: I am the slave of the spirit of the quest."

³⁹ i.e. the heart wounded by separation from the Lord. (*Shi'ru'l Ajam* and *Siyarul Aulia*).

Amir Khusrau became a disciple of the Shaikh when he was only eight years of age, and the Shaikh is said to have encouraged him in his early devotion to poetry. But during the earlier part of his career Khusrau was often absent from Delhi, and the doxology of the *Qiranus Sa'dain*, which was written in the last year of Kai Kubad's reign, does not refer to Shaikh Nizamuddin. The friendship of the Shaikh and the poet probably began in the reign of Sultan Jalaluddin and became closer every day. Though their characters differed widely there was a strong bond of sympathy between them. Khusrau, in spite of a life spent in the atmosphere of royal courts, was at heart a mystic; and the Shaikh, who often composed quatrains of a very high order, could not but be captivated by the fervour of 'Khusrau's Turkish soul.' The poet, once the heat of youth was over, sat down to a pious life of continued devotions, and the saint, whose tolerance knew no limits, warmly welcomed the courtier who brought into his quiet monastery the refreshing breeze of a different world. "Khusrau, what news?" he would often ask as he leaned on his pillow after dinner and joyfully shook his aged head, while the poet, who had the gossip of Delhi at his fingers' tips, regaled him with the description of a social world, in which the saint took the keen and philanthropic interest of an outsider. Khusrau, on his part was dazzled by the Shaikh's spiritual grandeur. His whole life had been spent under the inspiration of the torturing aspiration to immortalise himself in a lasting monument of poetry and art. In the Shaikh he came across one who was above such mundane ambitions, and taught him to feel that the inner development of the spirit was of much greater significance than any external achievement. What men do is less important than what they become; it is by its own qualities that the human soul is to be judged. Khusrau never laid aside his old ideal, but a thousand mellifluous *ghazals* testified to the strength and the 'blessedness' of the new vision. Of course Khusrau, the panegyrist, could not forget the master to whom he owed so much, and Shaikh Nizamuddin is praised in the doxology of all his later *masnavis*. His name even comes before the name of the Sultan.

But in spite of all his efforts, Shaikh Nizamuddin could not quite keep out of the whirlpool of politics. Sultan Alauddin's eldest son, Khizr Khan, was a disciple of the Shaikh, and it was naturally imagined that the Shaikh would favour his succession. But in the intrigues that followed Alauddin's death, Shaikh Nizamuddin kept quiet, and Sultan Kutbuddin Mubarak Shah, who ascended the throne of his father after an interregnum of forty days, at first followed a liberal policy and showed no hostility towards the Shaikh. But while returning from

his Deccan campaign, Mubarak discovered a dastardly conspiracy organised by Malik Asaduddin, a cousin of his father, and his hand fell heavily on the conspirators. Even the Sultan's brothers, Khizr Khan, Shadi Khan and Shahabuddin, who had been blinded and imprisoned by Malik Kafur at Gwalior were put to death, and Mubarak felt that he should nurse a grievance against the Shaikh. "He began to speak ill of the Shaikh," Barni tells us, "and displayed open hostility. The Maliks and Amirs of the court were ordered not to go to the Shaikh's monastery at Ghiaspur, and the intoxicated Sultan would often declare with his fearless tongue that he was prepared to give a thousand *tankas* of gold to any one who brought him Shaikh Nizamuddin's head." Sultan and Shaikh once came face to face at the *siyyum* of Shaikh Ziauddin Rumi, but Mubarak paid no regard to the Shaikh's dignity and even refrained from acknowledging his *salam*. Shaikh Ruknuddin was called from Multan in order to turn away the public eye from Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia; but as he was an old friend of Shaikh Nizamuddin, Mubarak Shah tried to set up one Shaikhzada Jam, an old enemy of Shaikh Nizamuddin, as a sort of anti-Pope. When people are inclined to quarrel, it is easy to find occasions for doing so. The Sultan built a mosque, called the Masjid-i Miri, and invited the leading men of the capital to the first Friday prayer. The Shaikh refused to go. "The mosque nearest my house," he told the Sultan's messenger, "has greater claims on me." Worse than that the Shaikh ventured to disregard the custom which required all men of note to attend the Sultan's court on the first day of every month, and sent his servant, Iqbal, as his deputy. The Sultan naturally resented the insult and finally threatened to call the Shaikh in person by a legal summons as soon as the new moon was seen. But the time for it never arrived. On the night of the new moon Mubarak Shah was assassinated by the Barwars, and Shaikh Nizamuddin was set free from a difficult situation. The murder of the Sultan, the pious Amir Khurd would have us believe, was due to the prayers of the Shaikh, not to the crimes of the Barwars. The decision of such problems is, fortunately, beyond the province of the historian.

In spite of the friction between the Sultan and his spiritual guide, Khusrau kept on good terms with both; Mubarak treated Khusrau more generously than his father had done and the poet in grateful acknowledgment of the favours he had received, composed the *Nuh Sipahr* (Ninth Heaven), a versified history of the principal events of the reign. The Barwar régime, which followed Mubarak's death, was turbulent and short-lived, and Ghiasuddin Tughlak, who mounted the

throne after suppressing the rebels, proved to be an ideal ruler according to the needs of the time. He had passed years of apprenticeship in the civil and military service of the state. His personal life was chaste and pure, and he was entirely free from that presumptuous arrogance which is often found in self-made men. "Before a week had passed," Ziauddin Barni says, "Ghiasuddin had so effectually removed all traces of disorder, that men imagined that Sultan Alauddin had come to life again." The harsher features of Alauddin's régime were removed, but the great reforms were preserved. With such a Sultan Amir Khusrau left himself in close sympathy and the *Tughlak Namah*, the last of his historical *masnavis*, bears witness to his admiration for the last of his many patrons. When Ghiasuddin invaded Bengal the poet accompanied him, but before the campaign was over, Shaikh Nizamuddin died at Delhi.⁴⁰ Khusrau on his return mourned deeply for the friend and guide to whom he had been so very dear. "Pray for my life," the Shaikh had said to him, "for you will not be able to survive me long." The prophecy came true; Khusrau died before six months elapsed and was buried at his master's feet.

"I want no monument over my grave; lay me to rest in the broad and open plain," Shaikh Nizamuddin had said before his death, but

⁴⁰ Shaikh Nizamuddin's relations with Sultan Ghiasuddin also are said to have been none too cordial; so at least later writers would have us believe. Ferishta, who sums up all that he heard floating down the stream of time, gives two reasons for this. Khusrau Khan, in his attempt to find supporters in every direction, distributed large sums of money to distinguished mystics. Three of them refused; others accepted the money but kept it safely in order to give it back to the legitimate king whenever he should appear. But Shaikh Nizamuddin, who had been offered 500,000 *tankas* while the other mystics had only got 300,000 *tankas* each, immediately took the money and distributed it to the poor. Ghiasuddin recovered most of the money Khusrau Khan had thrown away; all the other mystics paid up, but nothing could be recovered from Shaikh Nizamuddin for the simple reason that nothing was left. This incident is said to have alienated Sultan Ghiasuddin's mind. He also objected to the Shaikh's listening to mystic verses recited by *qawwals*, though after a learned discussion among scholars the Sultan withdrew his objection. When returning from the Bengal expedition, Ghiasuddin sent a message to the Shaikh asking him to leave Delhi before the Sultan's return. "Delhi is still far off (*Hanauz Dehli dur ast*)," the Shaikh replied, and the Sultan never reached Delhi. The fall of a mysterious pavilion built for his reception by his son, Mohammad Bin Tughlaq, cut short one of the most promising reigns of medieval India. The incident is quoted by shallow critics as an evidence of the Shaikh's spiritual power. The truth is more tragic. Shaikh Nizamuddin had already departed for 'the world beyond' several days before the Sultan's funeral procession entered Delhi.

The story, whatever its moral worth, appears a latter-day fabrication. Neither Barni nor Amir Khurd say anything concerning the unpleasantness between the two old men, who were so eminently virtuous in their different spheres of life.

Sultan Muhammad Tughlak, none the less, built a dome over it. Six hundred years have elapsed since; empires have risen and fallen; Delhi has been again and again destroyed and rebuilt; but throughout these multitudinous changes the mausoleum of Shaikh Nizamuddin has remained the one living spot in a city of desolate and crumbling ruins. It is frequented by Hindus and Mussalmans alike.

MD. HABIB.

HEAVEN (CHRISTIAN AND MUSLIM.)

It is not only on broad outlines but also in detail that Islam is indebted to Christianity for its religious ideas. The following parallels show this conclusively. The phrase used of the glory of heaven, "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man" is quoted by Aphraates (col. 1019) and Isaac of Antioch (p. 786) and also by Ghazzali more than once. Heaven is the place of light. "If one woman of the dwellers in paradise came to earth, she would give light to it and fill its whole extent with fragrance" (Ghazzali 4, 387; cf. Rev. 18,1). "Every man has two wives, he sees the marrow of the leg through the flesh" (Gh. 4, 386). "In paradise are rooms of sorts of jewels, one sees the inside from the outside and the outside from the inside" (4, 385). These seem to be nothing more than developments of Christian ideas, such as: "In rooms full of light" (Isaac. 74). "Buy for thyself a palace of light" (Isaac. 306). "They wear a glory of light. They are clad in supernal glory" (Isaac. 99). "They need not woven garments for they wear light for ever" (Aphraates. 1013).

Muslim story says of the fruits of paradise. "God will cut off the thorns of the *sidr* and put in place of each thorn a fruit; then the fruit will divide into seventy-two sorts of food, each different from the others". (Gh. 4, 386). Which reminds us of the words: "There (in heaven) are fair trees, their fruit fails not, their leaves do not fall, their foliage is beautiful, their scent pleasant, and none is ever disgusted at the taste of them" (Aphraates. 1016).

Human limitations are removed. "If you wish it, you will be given a horse of ruby and you will fly on it where you will in paradise" (Gh. 4, 387). This is only an extension into the cheaply marvellous of "There is no weight in their bodies, almost do they fly like doves to their windows" (Aph. 1013). The statement that "His sight is extended till he looks at what is most distant as he looks at what is most near" (Gh. 4, 388) is anticipated by "That place is wide and has no end; those who dwell therein see its distance as what is near" (Aph. 1016).

"What is given you when you enter paradise? He said: "The protuberance on the liver of the fish." There can be no doubt that

this is a reference to the feast on the flesh of Behemoth and Leviathan, possibly modified by the story of Tobit. I asked a Muslim scholar what this passage meant and he told me that I ought to know as it came from the Bible.

Though outside heaven, notice may be taken of the Muslim belief that the soul is present in the grave with the body and suffers there. Two passages are of interest; one from Aphraates (col. 397): "All that night which is long they do not feel, and it seems as one hour in their eyes. At the watch of dawn they wake and rejoice. As for the evil-doers, sleep lies heavy upon them and they are like a man suffering from severe fever, turning from side to side on his bed, fearing the whole long night, and fearing the dawn when his lord will punish him. . . . Our faith tells us that as long as men lie in this sleep, they slumber and know not good from evil. The righteous do not receive what is promised them nor the evil-doers their punishment, till the judge comes and divides the right from the left." The other is from Addaeus the Apostle (*Ancient Syriac Documents*, ed. Cureton, p. 109): "But recompense and reward it (the soul) will not receive apart from the body, because the suffering is not of itself alone, but of the body also in which it dwelt for a time."

A. S. TRITTON.

ORIGIN OF MANICHEISM¹

(By O. G. von Wesendonk.)

The Manichean tradition, as preserved by Muslim writers, states that after Mānī failed to achieve any success in the Sasanian court with Shāpūrakān, the work intended for the emperor Shāpūr I, Mānī turned his face to the eastern part of the empire. The meeting of Mānī with Shāpūr I is now related in a Manichean fragment discovered at Turfān, which may be traced back to an earlier Manichean tradition (M. 3, F. W. K. Müller, *Handschriftenreste in Estrangelo II*, p. 80f.). At least Mānī appears there as the narrator. The *Fihrist ul 'Ulūm*, the encyclopedic work of Muhammad ibn Ishāq al-Warrāq an Nadīm finished in 988, states that Mānī travelled to Khorāsān, Turkestān and India; according to Barhebraeus, the Christian Metropolitan of Takrīt who died in 1286, he was accompanied there by 12 disciples. The fragment M. 543 from Turfān (Müller, *Handschriftenreste in Estrangelo II*, p. 73) speaks of a "new teacher of Khorāsān" and as such Mānī could be regarded.

The question of Mānī's stay in the eastern districts of the Sasanian empire is of importance in so far as thereby the influx of Indian influences into the original doctrine of Mānī can easily be explained. The Christian legend, as contained e.g. in the *Acta Archelai*, asserts that Mānī had two predecessors, Scythianus and Terebinthus-Buddha. Little reliable as these traditions are, which among other things repre-

¹ Most of the Persian scholars of India as well as of Iran know little about Mānī beyond this that he was a painter and impostor who, on the strength of a collection of paintings of extraordinary beauty—the result of his own unparalleled skill in portraiture, claimed to be a prophet, tried to convert the Persian emperor to the new faith, was worsted by the Zoroastrian clergy in a controversy held in the emperor's presence, incurred the royal displeasure, fled from place to place, was ultimately arrested and flayed by order of the emperor. Credited as Mānī evidently is in this legend with the authorship of a new religion, the Muslims of India, as probably also those of Iran, never care to inquire what the nature of this new faith was. Allusions to Mānī and to his followers, the so-called *Zanādīqā*, are so frequently met with in Persian as well as Arabian authors as to make our ignorance of the man and his teachings inexcusable. It is with a view to shake Muslim scholars out of this apathy and to rouse the interest of students in the history of this branch of religious thought that I have attempted to translate this article, full of information on the subject, from the German.

sent Mānī as the slave of a rich widow,² yet the reference to Buddha in a literature hostile to the Manichees is worth noticing. Of importance in this connection is also the fact that even Indian religious movements like Buddhism and Jainism are aware of predecessors of the historical founders of their doctrines, assumptions in which, as referring to Buddha Gautama, H. Jacobi, Sten Konow, Th. Stscherbatsky and H. V. Glasenapp concur, while the personality of Mahāvīra's forerunner, Pārshva, among the Jainas may generally be regarded as historical.³

Whether and how far Indian influences had already made themselves conspicuous in the various Gnostic schools, to which Manicheism also belongs, may here be left out of consideration. It is of course not to be forgotten that the Achaemenian empire united within itself Indians and Greeks and that the connection between India and the western world has never since been broken. Now there are some people who would make Indian thoughts, and particularly indeed those of the Sāmkhya-system, the almost exclusive foundation of Manicheism (L. Troje, *Die 13 und die 12 im Traktat Pelliot*; also my discourse prefacing *Asia Major*). That is certainly a one-sided view. Mānī is a phenomenon having its roots in Gnosticism. It is from here as well as from Marcion and Bardesan, which Ephraim the Syrian calls the sources of Mānī, that our understanding of Mānī's doctrine is primarily to be gained. Mānī himself being a Persian was fully acquainted with the Mazdaistic currents of his time. Whether he himself knew of the sect of the Zervanites, who see in *ervan akarana*, the endless time, the highest principle, or whether it was later that Manicheism first acquired those Zervanite features which reveal themselves in the fragments found at Turfān, remains an open question.

E. Herzfeld in his work on the inscription of *Pā i Kālī* has also discussed the question how far the Sāsānian empire in its beginnings extended eastwards.⁴ He deals there with the coins of the Sāsānian satraps of those regions; Khorāsān, and certainly at least from 284

² *Asia Major* I, p. 810f.

³ H. Jacobi, *Die Entwicklung der Gottesidee bei den Indern*, p. 25; Sten Konow, in *Chantepies Lehrs. d. Religions-Geschichte*, 4 ed., vol. II, p. 109; Th. Stscherbatsky, *The Central Conception of Buddhism*, London, 1923, p. 73; v. Glasenapp, *Brahma und Buddha*, p. 183.

⁴ Regarding the Indian enterprises of the founder of the Sāsānian dynasty, Ardashir I, see Vincent A. Smith, *J. R. A. S.* 1920, p. 221ff. The existence of the Pārsī settlements in India before the emigration of the Mazdaists to India occasioned by the Muslim conquest of Irān, is dealt with by Inostrantzew, *Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute* I, Bombay, 1922, p. 40f; see Modi, *A few events in the early history of the Parsees and their dates*, Bombay, 1903; H. Junker, *Caucasica* II, p. 49, notes 3 and 52.

to 293 Sakastān, were under the rule of Sāsānian governors, while Kūshān rulers maintained themselves in the province of Kābul (Gandhāra). Drouin has already called attention to a coin which beside the representation of Buddha, designated in the marginal note "bulda yazde," contains as Zeus the name of Mānī. As shown by Herzfeld, l. c., p. 45, the coin in question is that of Pērōz, who is called Kūshānshāh. Now this Pērōz, is the brother of Shapur I. As Mānī could obtain no hearing from the Emperor, Pērōz takes the place of the latter. The fact that Pērōz was the Governor of Khorāsān explains the incident that Mānī at once turned to the eastern part of the empire.

A coin of Charakene, that south-Mesopotamian district which is of importance as the seat of the Baptist sect of the "Mughtasila" and the Mandaeans, bears a superscription which has been explained as "Emanation from Mānī". It is of course doubtful whether it is precisely Mānī the founder of a religion who is meant here and whether the signification is at all correct. The name Mānī frequently occurs among others in the domain of the Semitic languages, where it is, moreover, to be borne in mind that Mānī is probably a religious name adopted later on. His descent, in spite of all attempts at elucidation, is still obscure.

On the coins of Pērōz, however, the reading of the name as Mānī stands fast, as is shown beyond question by a careful examination of the two copies in the British Museum.⁶ On the coin "bulda" stands for Buddha. The representation of the Indian *ddha* in this form in a district belonging to the Saka province of Kūshān, may lead one to call to mind the ambiguity of the Sogdianian l/d (Gauthiot, *Essai de gramm. sogdienne* I, p. 13f.).⁷ Unable as one may be to lay the Charakenian coins under contribution for an elucidation of the connections of Mānī's doctrine with other religious currents, yet the coinage of Pērōz furnishes valuable hints concerning the history of the religion. The Kūshān-shāh Pērōz, who of course governed for the emperor only a part of the Kūshān kingdom, styles himself therein "Mazda-worshipping god". For a strict Mazdaist it would be simply a thing unheard of to name Buddha by the side of Ahurō Mazdā. Pērōz therefore

⁶ Lidzbarski, *Ztschr. f. Numismatik*, 1922, p. 91ff. deals with the coin with due care. Cf. v. Wesendonk, *Urmensch und Seele*, p. 116.

⁷ The reading Mānī on other Sasanian coins of the Kushan district is, on the other hand, wholly doubtful, even on those of Ohrmazd, the son of Shāpūr I.

⁸ See also Frejman, *Rocznitz Orient*, II.

stands entirely under the influence of Mānī, whom the Sāsānian prince esteems so much that he names him also on the coin.

The coin-legend is thus of extraordinary importance from the view-point of the history of the religion. A strong difference of opinion prevails among the investigators who have busied themselves with Manicheism regarding the origin of the doctrines set up by Mānī. The great difficulty consists in the fragmentary character of the transmission of the Manichean literature. Wide scope is thereby left for speculation and every one desires to see his own personal ideas corroborated. In order to sift the existing Manichean materials for the purpose, a fundamental little work is required. Beginnings hereof have already been made in many an excellent enquiry. In order to attain to an elucidation, the collaboration of specialists in the most varied departments is necessary, for in its endeavour to be a universal religion free from national restrictions and to proclaim the fulfilment of the existing doctrines, Manicheism took to itself the most heterogeneous elements. The persecution to which the Manicheans were exposed in most countries led to their adapting themselves for the time being to the aspect of their environments. It thus happens that Manicheism appears at one time as a Christian sect, and at another is looked upon as a Mazdaistic school, and that in Christianity as well as Islām, and presumably also in China, it was active in the formation of sects. That is also why the external appearance of Manicheism is so diversified that a foreign observer can hardly comprehend it in its own true character. When one takes into consideration the above-stated view-points, the whole controversy becomes idle.

Pērōz, the protector and follower of Mānī, combines in his Khorāsān coin the profession of Mazdaism in the form in which it was in vogue among the Sāsānians with mention of Mani and a representation of Buddha in the form of a Zeus. Mānī himself appears on the coin as the *burchān*, as we know him from the Turfān fragments, *i.e.*, as a prophet who communicated the doctrine of the salvation of mankind. Later on we find him addressed as "god Mānī",⁸ a conception which had nothing strange in it for Sāsānian Iran and might in itself, therefore, even be old.

⁸ Bartholomae, *Sasanid. Recht*, V, p. 31, proves that *bag* in Middle-Persian can also mean "king". This, however, is really secondarily derived from the meaning "god". In the Middle-Persian Manichean fragments a god as well as a king and master is *khwadāi*. Cf. also the Iranian conception of *ahura*, a master, a lord. In the Rīgveda *asura* is used particularly for Varuna, Mitra-Varuna, but occasionally also for Indra or for gods generally in the sense of "spirit", "god".

Mānī represented himself as the successor of the great founders of religions, Zoroaster, Buddha and Christ,—of Moses he would, in his feeling of hostility towards the Jews, which is to be found in many of the Gnostic systems as well, know nothing. Like Muhammad Mānī claimed for himself against the Christians the roll of the Paraclete of St. John's Gospel; like Muhammad Manicheism favours Docetism, for it distinguishes between Jesus of Light and Jesus *patibilis*, who as man suffered death on the Cross at the hands of the Jews. The question, moreover, still remains uncleared whether besides incentives from the Christian and Jewish side Muhammad drew from Manichean sources too or whether Mānī as well as Muhammad made use of the Gnostic materials.*

Though Pērōz, evidently as a follower of Mānī, represents himself as "Mazda-worshipping god", it yet perhaps shows that Mānī, on the other hand, gave himself out as a reformer of the Zoroastrian doctrine. He must have played this same rôle before the emperor Shāpūr, whence it can be assumed that Mānī acted throughout in good faith and really believed himself to be a renovator of the Mazdaistic faith. With the Sāsānians who were descended from the priest-princes of Fārs, the consolidation of religion, begun by the Arsacides, was a principal concern. Mānī, who himself came of an Arsacid family and whose father is said to have come from Hamadān to southern Mesopotamia, was a Persian and fully acquainted with Mazdaism. He wrote Pahlavī as well as Aramaic; the tradition, therefore, according to which Mānī composed his works in both the languages, is to be regarded as entirely correct.¹⁰ The use of several languages is in the east not at all strange. While in the west Syriac was pushed into the foreground (Cf. the examples from Egypt quoted by Burkitt, *The religion of the Manichees*, p. III ff.), the finds from Turfān show that Middle-Persian was the church-language of the Manichees in Central Asia.

The divergences of the Manichean doctrine from the commonly prevailing Mazdaism can be ascertained from the fragments of the original literature of the Manichees. M. 28 (F. W. K. Müller, *Handschriftenreste in Estrangeloschrift* II, p. 94) contains portions of a polemic against Mazdaists and Christians. It is said there that those who

* Regarding the question of the prophets sent to various nations in Manicheism and Islām, see Horowitz, *Der Islam*, XIII, p. 66; Koran. *Untersuch.*, p. 28, 46.

¹⁰ The *Fihrist ul 'Ulūm* represents one of the seven original works of Mānī, probably Shāpīrakān, as having been composed in Persian, the other six, on the other hand, in the Syrian language. See Flügel, *Mani*, p. 102.

worship the burning fire will find their end in fire. Further the view that 'Öharmīzd and 'Aharmēn (Ormuzd and Ahriman) are brothers, an opinion which meets us in the Gāthā itself, is rejected. The same fragment reproaches the Christians with invoking the son of Mary as the son of Adōnai. In the same manner Muhammad always calls Jesus the son of Mary and questions his sonship of God. On the other hand, Mithrō is set up by Manicheans as the son of God, who, in T. M. 180, v. Le Coq Turk. Mani. II, p. 5, declares of himself "I am the son of the true God". Similarly it is stated in the Khuastuanift, the Manichean Laity's Mirror of Confession, that the assertion that Khormuzta (Ormuzd) and the Demon of Darkness are brothers or that God has created all, good as well as bad, is to be regarded as blasphemy (W. Bang, Ein man. Laienbeichtspiegel, Le Museon 1923, p. 145f.)

From this it can be seen in which direction the innovations of Mānī, as opposed to Mazdaism, tend. Even the Armenian Esnic is acquainted with the attitude of Manicheism against the Mazdaistic doctrine of the two Mainyū: "Against the Sects", translated by Schmid, p. 91. He taught an absolute dualism with complete separation of good and bad creatures. The latter according to the Manichean view will be made harmless at the end of the world-event. The division of the two domains is, however, initial and can never be bridged over. Zarathustra's own doctrine, on the contrary, is monotheistic, for in the spiritual world Ahurā Mazdā stood alone, in the bodily existence, however, Spentō Mainyush and Ayrō Mainyush stand opposed to each other. The fact that under the influence of Chaldaeo-Hellenic speculations the time-god Zrvan (Middle-Persian *zrvān*, *zurvān*, originally perhaps *survān*, Cf. the name *Zorvāndāt* in Bartholomae, Zum sasan. Recht V, p. 11; Zourouam in Theodor of Mopsuestia, Nöldeke, Festgr. an Roth., p. 34)¹¹ took at least in the Zervanite sect the highest position, is of importance only in so far that the Manicheans also use the name Zārwan (Äzrua) for the highest deity of light.¹² The time at which

¹¹ Junker, Oriental. Lit. Ztg., 1925, Sp. 438ff., expresses his opinion in favour of an east-İrānian original form *zrvān*. cf. Hübschmann, Armen. Gramm. I, p. 42.

¹² R. Eisler, Orphisch-dionysische Mysteriengedanken p. 334, notes 1 and 2, advocates placing the date of Zervanism in the "Old-Median" time, but at the same time points out that the deification of the space-and time-concepts appears in a bilingual Sumerian-Accadian list of gods, which has been published by Michatz in a Breslau dissertation of 1909. The testimony of Eudemus of Rhodus regarding time and space among the Persians is communicated to us by Damascius, who visited Persia in 532. At that time a Zervanite current did exist in the Sasanian empire, Cf. Caucasia II, p. 125. Regarding the additions which Damascius is said to have made to the cases cited by Eudemus concerning Babylonian, see Schaefer, Studien z. antiken Synkretismus, p. 319, note 2. By the

this name came into vogue cannot be determined, perhaps it came into general use after Mānī. When Scheftelowitz (lastly in *Asia Major* I, p. 460ff.)¹³ disputes almost entirely the connections of Manicheism with Īrān, he is in error. W. Bang, *Le Muséon*, 1925, p. 3, rightly observes that Mānī's strongest roots lie, besides in Gnosticism, in Īrānian. No doubt Manicheism has thoroughly altered the character of many of the Mazdaist deities, so that Ormuzd becomes the primal man, who goes forth with the five divine elements to war against Darkness; Mithrō is evidently often treated in the *Turfān* fragments as the sun, which agrees with the view of Mithraism, while Mazdaism possesses for the sun its own deity, Hvareṃ.¹⁴ Mithrō further appears among the Manicheans, however, in the Mithraistic sense, as a divine messenger, as a merciful saviour by the side of Feridūn, the conqueror of *Azish dahākō* (M. 4, Müller, *Handschriftenreste* II, p. 55; M. 176 l.c., p. 61 where Mithrō is mentioned by the side of the sun, perhaps as another name for it, and before the moon; Cf. also M. 38 l.c., p. 77, where Mithrō is invoked as God's messenger and interpreter of religion before Jesus). The Mazdaistic Fravashī, the guardian spirit and heavenly archetype of men and things, becomes in the Manichean fragments (Middle-Persian *pravahr*, Turkish *tintura*,¹⁵ Augustin, *Contra Faustum* II, 3 aër) one of the five elements which are the body-guard or armour of the primal man. At any rate, in this Manichean doctrine which regards the *pravahr* as the body-moving soul of the remaining four

inscription of Antiochus I of Commagene (Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien*, p. 341ff., Dittenberger, *Orientalis graeci inscr.* No. 383), howsoever one might twist it, the existence of a conception of "Endless Time" as a god cannot be proved. Cf. Gressmann, *Die hellenist. Gestirnsreligion* p. 221., where it is strikingly pointed out that the monument of Antiochus proves the mixing of the Iranian religion with Chaldean elements, C. Clemen, *D. griech. u. lat. Nachr.* p. 1351.; Pettazoni *I misteri* p. 238; R. Eisler, *The Quest*, 1923, p. 262ff.; K. Ziegler in Roscher's *Myth. Lex.* V, Sp. 153ff.; F. Cumont, *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses*, 1922.

¹³ The doubts expressed by Scheftelowitz, l.c. I, p. 814 and *Der Ursprung der Manich. Rel.* p. 62ff., against the commonly accepted identification of Ormuzd with the primal man seem to be unfounded, if in agreement with W. Bang (*Le Muséon*, 1923, p. 172ff), the five elements be regarded not perhaps as the sons but as the troop of Ormuzd. Salemann, *Manichaica III*, p. 12, reproduces a fragment which speaks of the five elements expressly as the body-guard of Ormuzd. Cf. also Burkitt, *The religion of the Manichees*, p. 52, note 2; v. Le Coq *Türk. Man.* p. 40; see now Schaeder, *Studien z. antiken Synkretismus*, p. 243ff.

¹⁴ Cf. however, the Indian Saura-sect, Bhandarkar, *Vaishnavism* p. 153f. In a Manichean-Chinese roll of the British Museum, Or. 8210 (2659) Mithrō is usually called the sun, Waldschmidt and Lentz, *J. R. A. S.* 1926, p. 119.

¹⁵ v. Le Coq, *Türk. Manichaica III*, p. 16, translates *tintura* by "faint air-breath."

elements considered as substances,¹⁶ the original Mazdaistic view of the Fravashī is still to be recognised. Besides, the "chosen breath of air" is represented in a Soghdian text through the Christian colouring of Manicheism as the Holy Ghost, which is mentioned by the side of the elements together with the Father and the Son¹⁷ (F. W. K. Müller, *Handschriftenreste* II, p. 103). A special position is likewise occupied in the Manicheism of Central Asia by Vohū Manō, the first of the Mazdaist Ameshaspentō, whom Zarathustra has probably installed, though not as a god of a polytheistic system, in the place of Mithrō, for he condemns the Haoma-cult and the bloody sacrificial worship belonging to this god. Vohū Manō is neuter; Spentō and Ayrō Mainyush, on the other hand, are masculine. Jesus is praised, e.g. in fragment M. 176 (Müller, *Handschriftenreste* II, p. 60), as full moon and Vahman. (Cf. also M. 176 74 *l.c.*, p. 75; M. 543 *l.c.*, p. 79; Bang, *Le Muséon*, 1925, p. 25; v. Le Coq, *Türkische Manichaica* III, 41, "Yishu kanig wahuman"). We have already seen that *amahrāspands*, considered in the later Mazdaistic view as elements, not yet known to Zarathustra himself, have become the body-guard of the primal man, Ormuzd. On the Manichean mythology the Chinese Manichees' texts, which Waldschmidt and Lentz intend to place before us, might throw further light (J.R.A.S. 1926, p. 116ff.). A. V. W. Jackson, J.A.O.S. 43, p. 15ff. and 44, p. 61ff. has pointed to several noteworthy connections of Manicheism with Mazdaism, particularly in regard to the Persian name for the highest grade of the Manichean hierarchy, the *magistri*, the *hamōzāg*, and in the designations of the Mother of Life, who herself is associated with the Gnostic doctrines and not with those of Mazdaism.

¹⁶ Shahrastāni (p. 189, ed. by Cureton) says there are five kinds of light, four of these are material, the fifth is their soul. This essence he calls *an-nasim*, which moves the bodies. Elements of the good world as all the five kinds of light at any rate are, the Manichean psychology distinguishes two constituent parts, one of pure brightness and the other issuing from darkness. As Bang, *Le Muséon*, 1925, p. 54f., emphatically points out, Manicheism perhaps did not recognise two souls, so that Augustin's work *De duabus animabus*, hostile to the Manicheans, rests on a misunderstanding. The release of the luminous soul-elements from imprisonment in matter, which commences with the capturing of the primal man by the powers of darkness, is the meaning of the world-event; see also the Fihrist which calls the "faint airy breath" the life of the world, Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 62, 94.

¹⁷ *Vād zivandagh*, the living soul, the divine messenger sent by the highest God to the nether world to deliver the primal man, is not perhaps to be identified with *pravahar*. H. H. Schaeder, *Oriental Lit. Ztg.* 1926, Sp. 105. According to Waldschmidt and Lentz, J.R.A.S. 1926, p. 122 note, *vād zivandagh* is to be understood in the passage quoted by Müller,

The already mentioned Manichean fragment M. 543, according to which a personality, probably Mānī, is addressed as "Leader of the Mazdayasnian faith" and "new teacher of Khorāsān" (Müller, *Handschriftenreste* II, p. 79), eminently agrees with the legend on the Pērōz coin. In the Turkish fragment T.M. 170 (v. Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* III, p. 39), wherein of course we do not know who is spoken of, it is said that "he laid down the luminous, bright law of the Magi." In any case the person concerned is, however, praised by the Manicheans and the *burchān* Zarathustra may possibly be the person spoken of.

Looking to what has been stated, one dare not underrate the Irānian share in the Manichean doctrine. Of course Mānī has received other religious impressions too. The most essential part of his teaching, the hazy idea of the form of the terrestrial world, his cosmogony and the doctrine of redemption, are indeed not of Irānian origin.¹⁸ Important religious impressions were received by Mānī from the south-Mesopotamian sect of the Mughtasila, to which his father belonged but whose doctrines were unable to satisfy Mānī himself. Unable as one may be to identify outright Mughtasila and the Mandaeans, one may in any case say that the writings of the Mandaeans present to us a picture of the ideas which prevailed in those sects. While Scheftelowitz wants to represent Mānī as simply arising from among the Mandaeans,¹⁹ Burkitt (*The religion of the Manichees*, p. 73) shows that the language of the Manichean fragments from the west resembles classical Syriac but not Mandaic, and H. H. Schaeder believes he is able to pave off the *Ktāb d-eskolyōn* of Theodor bar Chōnai an original poem of Mānī (*Or. Lit. Ztg.* 1926, Sp. 104ff.).

In "Studien zum antiken Synkretismus" p. 240ff., Schaeder expresses the opinion that Theodor bar Chōnai has preserved pieces of an original work of Mānī, and as a matter of fact Theodor bar Chōnai, the Nestorian bishop of Kashkar about 800, has made extracts from a Syriac work of Mānī, so that parts of this book, "The Epistle on the Two Principles," are found here verbatim. The account found in the *Fihrist ul 'Ulūm* of an-Nadīm, on the other hand, refers to the work *Shāpūrakān* written in the Middle-Persian language (Alfaric, *Les ecritures manichéennes* II, p. 49ff.); the *Fihrist*, however, contains no original extract from Mānī's book but only summarises its contents.

¹⁸ Reference may in particular be made to v. Wesendonk's *Urmensch und Seele in der iranischen Ueberlieferung*. See also Reitzenstein and H. H. Schaeder in "Studien zum antiken Synkretismus," a work which while still in the press became accessible to me and which I intend to appraise more closely in "Asia Major."

¹⁹ Cf. also G. Wetter, *Phōs*, Uppsala, 1914, p. 106ff.

The divergences in the cosmogonies, as given by Theodor bar Chōnai and an-Nadīm (Cf. v. Wesendonk, *Die Lehre des Mani*, pp. 23ff. and 28ff. The latter passage has obviously been overlooked by Schaefer at the time of his making his observation in *l.c.*, p. 243, note 1) can, therefore, be traced to a misunderstanding on the part of an-Nadīm. Of course Reitzenstein, *l.c.*, p. 194, has drawn attention to the fact that the description of the King of Darkness in the Mandaic *Ginzā* 278ff, together with the account of the course of events, agrees with the *Fihrist*. As to the description of Satan, it has already been brought prominently forward by Brandt, *Mandaäische Schriften*, p. 226 and Lidzbarski, *Ginzā*, p. 278.²⁰ Kessler, *Realenc. f. prot. Theol.*, s.v. *Mandaeer*, and W. Brandt, *Enc. of Rel. and Ethics*, s.v. *Mandaeans*, *Mandaic Religion*, p. 198f.,²¹ have already mentioned the presence of fragments of Manichean literature in *Ginzā*. The Mandaeans have appropriated foreign written matter of various sorts (Lidzbarski, *Ginzā*, p. XII). Among it appear to be found Mazdaistic materials, to which may be traced according to Brandt the Mandaic doctrine of the King of Light. Of special interest is the book *Dinānūkht* (*Ginzā*, 204, 22ff.), for Theodor bar Chōnai cites it in the account of the religion of the Dōstaeans (*Liber scholiorum*, ed. by Addai Scher, p. 347, 6; Pognon, *Inscriptions mandaïtes des Coupes de Khoubir*, p. 227; Lidzbarski, *Ginzā*, p. 206). Though Theodor bar Chōnai presents to us pieces of a didactic work of Mānī, yet the *Fihrist* too deserves attention. It is conceivable that Mānī has propounded his doctrine in two different garbs, so that in *Shāpūrakān* he addresses himself primarily to the Persians, and in the works written in Syriac to the circle conversant with that language. It is thus that tinges of the Irānian line of thought in the *Shāpūrakān* and the later accounts dependent thereon, and of the Gnostic-Christian in the Syriac works can be explained by Mani's effort at all times to pass for a perfecter of the earlier revelations to the several nations (Cf. the passage from *Shāpūrakān* quoted by Al-Bīrūnī regarding the sending of prophets to different countries. *Chron.*, trans. by Sachau, p. 183f.).

In any case the Gnosis of the Mandaeans furnishes important points from which the fundamental religious tone prevailing among the South-Mesopotamian Baptist communities can be discovered. The Manichean script also is not to be identified with the Mandaic, for Mānī adopted the Aramaic script used in Babylonia (Lidzbarski, *Berl.*

²⁰ This paragraph of the *Ginzā* has also been translated and explained by Nöldeke, *Festschrift für Ernst Kuhn*, p. 131ff.

²¹ See *Die Lehre des Mani*, p. 12, note 3.

Sitzungsber., 1916, p. 1213ff.), while the Mandaeans may have formed their script under the influence of the Nabateans (Brandt, *Die Mandaer*, p. 33; Lidzbarski, *Ginzā*, p. Vlf.). The Marcionite script mentioned in the *Fihrist* (Flügel, *Mani*, p. 168) is looked upon by Harnack (*Marcion*, 2nd Ed., p. 386) as an imitation of the script of Mānī. Not only for Manicheism but also for the understanding of the gospel of St. John, the Mandaic analogies have already been successfully drawn upon (W. Bauer, *Das Johannes-Evangelium*, 2nd Ed., Tübingen, 1925). The Mandaean sources point to Syria and its neighbourhood. A number of sects there have attributed to the Jordan a singular healing power, to which the notices of John the Baptist in the New Testament bear testimony. Phenomena of a similar nature are to be observed among the Elkesaites, Kantaeans and Hemerobaptists. Probably with a certain group of Mandaic ideas preserving West-Semitic heathenism, were also originally associated the views of the Islamic heterodox religious communities like the Nusairīs.²² Apart from those elements of Mandaic doctrine which point to Syria, there are also to be found in it "Chaldean" and Irānian elements; especially among the Mandaeans there appears a pronounced hostility to the Jews.²³ We can presume similar views for the Mughtasila too, who moreover, according to the *Fihrist*, cherished ascetic tendencies. Kessler has rightly comprehended the Babylonian features in the Mandaic system.

Leaving aside its connections in the remotest antiquity, for which, moreover, Elam lay nearer than Babylonia, even Mazdaism has not remained free from "Chaldean" influences. Concerning the extension of the Elamaic influences towards North-Western India in very early times, the finds of Harappā and Mohenjo Daro in the Punjab, which remind one not of Sumerian but of Elamaic, are of importance. Cf. Pézard, *Intailles susiennes u. Desgraignes*, both in *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*. One such agate is to be found in A. Cunningham, *Archaeol. Survey of India V, 1872-3*, p. 105ff., *Facsimiles of the Finds of Sir John Marshall in Waddell, Indo-Sumerian Seals*. Such influences of the Land of two Rivers conspicuously manifest themselves e.g. in the Persian wisdom which A. Goetze, *Zeitschrift f. Indol. u. Iran.*, Vol. II, p. 60ff., would recognise in certain microcosm-doctrines

²² Bēl Shamīn, the heavenly Baal of the Syrians and Phoenicians, appears to have afterwards moulded the view of the Nusairīs that 'Alī is heaven. Regarding Bēl Shamīn among the Mandaeans, see Brandt, *Mandaäische Schriften*, p. 171, note 3. With regard to the possibility of relations between Mandaeans and Nusairīs, Cf. Urmensch und Seele, p. 129f.

²³ Cf. passages of *Ginzā* on p. 340ff. of Lidzbarski's translation.

of the Būdahishn. Without wishing to discuss here the question whether the materials employed in the Būdahishn go back to the fifth century B.C. or not, which might just carry one to the time of the rise of the Chaldeo-Iranian mixed civilisation, the views stated here can in no case lead one to think of Irānian materials but only of Babylonian analogies.²⁴

Now according to the statement of Ephraim the Syrian, who died in 373, two schools have particularly influenced Mānī, namely, those of Bardesān (Bar Daisān)²⁵ and Marcion. The cosmogony of Mānī is said to have strongly resembled that of Bardesān and according to the Fihrist, in his "Book of Secrets" Mānī busied himself with Bardesān (Flügel, Mani, p. 102). How far Bardesān, looking particularly to the astrological-astronomical fundamental tendencies of his doctrine, is to be called a Gnostic and especially a Christian, remains in our meagre knowledge of his system an open question. Shahrastānī treats the Bardesanites as a special religious school not belonging to Christianity (v. Wesendonk, *Die Lehre des Mani*, p. 67 note 2; Shahrastānī, ed. by Cureton, p. 194ff.) Burkitt who sees in Bardesān primarily a Christian heretic, shows the dry matter-of-fact character of his system, which stands in contrast to the poetic and prophetic fervour of Mānī's doctrine (*The religion of the Manichees*, p. 70).

While Bardesān, the "Aramaic philosopher," can perhaps like Mānī himself be regarded as a thinker who, without being a Gnostic outright, stood on the shoulders of Gnosis, Marcion, the founder of

²⁴ H. H. Schaefer, *Z.D.M.G.*, N.F., 4, p. 202, note 6, regards the rejection of Goetze's assertions in *Urmensch und Seele* (p. 122) as "the chief defect" of this book. I am in general unable to reconcile myself to a method which out of love for a preconceived opinion indiscriminately jumbles old and new things together. To the so-called Gr. Būdahishn (I write it thus in accordance with Grdr. d. iran. Phil. instead of Bundahishn) can never be conceded the merit of being the full source of the still extant pieces of Avesta, which in their later parts too are to be carefully tested by the criterion whether they really contain Irānian materials. Add to this that in his assumption of a mention of the primal man in the Gāthā (*i.e.*, p. 203; see also *Studien z. antiken Synkretismus*, p. 213), Schaefer should not have relied on E. Lehmann's wrong translation (*Zarathustra II*, p. 79) of Yasna XXX, 6. Andreas and Wackernagel have rightly interpreted the passage (*Nach. d. Gött. Ges. d. Wiss.*, 1909, Schaefer, *Z.D.M.G.*, N.F., 4, p. 204, note 1), and thus neither Christensen (*Le premier homme et le premier roi dans l'histoire légendaire des Iraniens*, p. 32) nor *Urmensch und Seele*, p. 173, need come to terms with the thesis adopted by Edv. Lehmann, more particularly because even if Bartholomae's translation of the passage be accepted, nowhere is it said that not men in general but the primal man is meant.

²⁵ H. H. Schaefer intends to explain more exactly the relations of Mānī with Bardesān in a lecture to be delivered in the Warburg Library.

the Church of Asia Minor, seems to have strongly influenced the religious aspect of Mānī's system. It was possibly through Bardesān that Mānī gained a knowledge of Greek speculation and of the Hellenistic science of the stars.²⁶ To Bardesān is ascribed a sort of Platonised dialogue on fate. Plato and Hermes Trismegistus, who plays a rôle in magical literature, were regarded according to the testimony of Ephraim by the Manicheans as *burchāns* or prophets.²⁷ (Mitchell, S. Ephraim's prose refutations, II, p. XCVII). The Manichean bishop Faustus of Mileve in North Africa mentions Hermes Trismegistus, Augustin, *Contra Faustum* XIII, 1.

Marcion, to whom Harnack has devoted a fundamental work (2nd ed., Berl., 1924), occupies a special position in so far as to him faith and not knowledge is the essential thing. He agrees with the Gnostics only on individual points, for Marcion has dualistic currents, such as the rejection of the God of the New Testament, in common with various Gnostic teachers, e.g. with Saturnil, perhaps even with Simon of Gitta, who as a Samaritan rejected the Thora.²⁸ But the religious feeling of Marcion is quite different from the phantastic world-pictures of perhaps a Basileides or Valentin. Characteristic of Marcion is the fact that he always thinks of the whole of Christendom, attaches himself to Paul, and strives to build a genuine Church and not a sect. He desires the salvation of all and not only the enlightenment of the selected few who flock to Gnosis. Of importance for Mānī were Marcion's ascetic attitude, his relegation of matter to the realm of the evil one—the conception of *hyle* (matter) Marcion has in common with Mānī—, but in particular also the inner organisation of the Marcionite church, which appears to have flourished in Mesopotamia up to the 5th century, for Marcion recognised, beside the bulk of the followers, the fully qualified members of the church pledged to celibacy, just as Mānī placed the élite above the hearers, the laity. In the Turfān fragment M. 28 (F. W. K. Müller, *Handschriftenreste* II p. 95), apropos of a polemic against the Christians, the "God of Marcion," *yazd 'ī Markiyōn*, is

²⁶ Burkitt in Mitchell, S. Ephraim II, p. CXXVI, expresses a doubt as to whether Bardesān himself could be a Greek and assumes that Harmonius, the son of Bardesān, who studied in Athens (Theodoret *adv. Haer.*, 22) is often responsible for the Greek touch in Bardesān. Ephraim in the treatise called "Domnus" against Bardesān reproaches him for confounding Platonic and Stoic doctrines (Mitchell, *l.c.*, p. IIIf.).

²⁷ The Druses also see in Plato and Hermes, as well as in Pythagoras, incarnations of the divine power, which finally revealed itself to the world in the Fātimide Caliph al-Hakim, the supposed founder of the sect of the Druses.

²⁸ Regarding the Gnostic ideas among the Samaritans, see Gaster, *The Samaritans*, p. 80ff.

expressly mentioned, whence it may be inferred that Mānī criticised the system of Marcion too,²⁹ just as he did Mazdaism and Bardesān.

It would, therefore, be an entirely just characterisation of the nature of Manicheism, if it were looked upon as the inheritor of the whole of Gnosis (Adolf Jülicher, *Gesch. der christl. Rel., Kultur d. Gegenwart* I, IV, 2nd ed., 1909, p. 106; E. de Faye, *Gnostiques et Gnosticisme*, p. 463f.). Mānī had already established relations in Mesopotamia with the Gnostics and the schools related to them. Seleucia-Ctesiphon was an important commercial centre where Persian influences mingled with the Syrian civilisation which after the fall of Hellenism carried the heritage of antiquity. These same Syrian elements later on transmitted to Islam the Greek civilisation.

At the age of four-and-twenty Mānī appeared at the court of Shāpūr. In the reign of Bahrām Mānī first left his asylum in the eastern part of the empire³⁰ and returned to the capital Gund-i-Shāpūr, there to fulfil his destiny as a martyr (276-7). G. Wetter (Phōs, Uppsala, 1914, p. 112) emphasises the significance of Mānī's personality for the new syncretistic building up of religion, and closer consideration of the Manichean system shows that the verdict given in "Die Lehre des Mani," p. 72, according to which the prophet worked up into a new, independent whole the materials collected by him from Irān, Babylonia, Gnosis, antiquity, Christianity, India, etc., is correct.³¹

Even in Mānī's religious conception one has to reckon with an evolution. In Southern Mesopotamia he may already have heard something of India, but it was in Khorāsān and the neighbouring countries that he first came into contact with Indian religions. Persecuted by all Governments with the exception of the Ugrian of the 8th century, Manicheism always assimilated itself outwardly to the world around it and consequently appears in many colours, indeed according to the view-point taken up in regard to it.

Of the Manichean fragments discovered in Central Asia many exhibit a strongly Buddhistic garb, particularly so that Chinese treatise

²⁹ Harnack (Marcion. 2nd ed., p. 157, note 3) is of opinion that Mānī was probably acquainted with the writing of Marcion.

³⁰ The son of Shāpūr I, Ormazd I (272-3) formerly governor of Khorāsān and the conqueror of Sistān, is already stated to have favoured Mānī.

³¹ Waldschmidt and Lentz on 29.7.26. presented to the Berlin Academy a treatise "Ueber die Stellung Jesu im Manichaeismus," according to which Jesus (Jesus of Light, not perhaps the son of Mary) appears for Mānī as the Saviour (*Deutsche Literatur-Ztg.*, 1926, Sp. 1620). According to Alexander of Lycopolis 7,14ff; 34,18ff. Christ was the Nūs for Mānī (Schaeder, *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus*, p. 286).

which was revised by Chavannes and Pelliot in 1911 and which, according to L. Troje, would furnish proof of a far-reaching dependence of Manicheism on the Sāmkhya system.³²

The coin of Pērōz shows, as is also evidenced by the literary sources, that during his life-time Mānī acknowledged Buddha. In Khorāsān Mānī could come into direct touch with Buddhists, and a still further opportunity for getting acquainted with the Indian world of thought offered itself during a stay in India herself, which may be regarded as quite probable. Even al-Bīrūnī says that several Indians adhered to the law and doctrine of Mānī (*Chronology*, trans. by Sachau, p. 191).

Explicable as the Manichean system may be in its basic features, together with its church-organisation, with the help of the Iranian religion, Gnosis and the Christian heretics, without dragging in India, many details were, nevertheless, first worked out under Indian influence.³³ At least, Mānī found among the Buddhists, and possibly also among the Jainas, a confirmation of the inspirations derived by him from other sources.³⁴ The Manichean monasticism exhibits features which conform to the Vihāras of the Buddhists. The division of the believers into fully qualified members of the church and the laity, which in Mānī may have been entirely borrowed from Marcion's organisation, with its distinction of believers and catechumens, has its analogy among the Buddhists, as also a still more pronounced one among the Jainas, whose lay brethren are called Shrāvakas, hearers, like the Manichean auditors.

³² For the mixing up of artistic and religious themes in Central Asia the representation of Bodhisattva Vajrapāni as the Sāsānian emperor of Dandan uiliq near Khotan is characteristic (Sir Aurel Stein, *Serindia* p. 874ff.; Cl. Huart, *La Perse antique*, p. 152).

³³ In the mysterious cult of the Indian Shāktas, the Chakrapūja, there is to be found among other things the custom of the free sexual intercourse of the men and women present,—that is, just the thing always imputed by their opponents to the Manicheans. As usages of the sort are entirely foreign to Manicheism, no leaning on India in this matter can be allowed. The question, however, arises whether in the Mazdakite community of wives similar views are apparent, such as also existed in Nearer Asia perhaps in the temple-prostitution, etc., and also found among primitive peoples living in a state of nature. A. Christensen, *Le règne du roi Kawadh I*, Copenhagen, 1925, would represent Mazdak as a Manichean sectarian, but this could not be true. Mazdakism is really to be taken as a movement from Mazdaism and not from Manicheism.—Similar practices have been imputed to several other sects like the Kisilbāsh, Ahl-i-Haqq, Druses, Yazīdīs, etc.

³⁴ Cf. W. Bang, *Le Muséon* XXXVI, 1923, p. 231; v. Wesendonk, *Ueber georgisches Heidentum*, p. 39, notes 3 and 49; and Glasenapp, *Jainismus*, p. 454.

Only the Jainas living in asceticism can attain to redemption. Buddhism too, as it prevailed in the countries in contact with Mānī, had probably developed itself long ago from a purely monastic organisation into a religion; important above all others in this connection seems to be the district of Gandhāra, the seat of the Kūshān rulers—Pērōz as the Sāsānian viceroy of Khorāsān bears only the honorific title of Kūshānshāh. The Jainas, who had intercourse with the Kūshān-Sakas (Indian: Kushanas and Shakas) (J. Charpentier, *The Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 167f.), also claimed for their doctrine the rank of a universal religion, though its farthest range of expansion, however, could not have gone beyond the Tārīm-valley.³⁵ The white vestments of the Manichean élite resemble the usage of the Jaina Shvetāmbaras, whose monks wear white apparel. If according to the Jainas matter can penetrate into the soul and afflict it with pain (v. Glasenapp, *Jainismus*, p. 157ff.; Jacobi, *Eine Jaina Dogmatik*, Leipzig, 1906), it has a ring of the Manichean doctrine mentioned above and which Augustin has obviously misunderstood in *De duabus animabus*. Various analogies can thus be established.

The relation of the élite to the hearers serving them may further remind one of an Indian archetype among the Manicheans. This relation resembles that of the Indian *gurus* to their disciples, and the Manichean elect with the boys who prepared for them their food would make no very different impression from that made by the Indian saints with their attendants. Such wandering Manichean monks are mentioned in a Manichean text discovered in China (Chavannes et Pelliot, *Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine*, *Journal Asiatique*, 1911, p. 572ff.), and here in Central Asia in particular a tinge of a Buddhistic custom can indeed be easily accounted for. These Manichean emissaries appeared in pairs in Mesopotamia, however, even in the Abbasid period, as is related by the Muslim author Jāhiz (Jahiz, *Hayawān* IV, p. 147; v. Rosen, *Zap. der Petersburger Universität* VI, p. 336ff). Goldziher (*Vorlesungen ueber den Islam*, 2nd ed., p. 160) connected these monks with India. They must have been, as is pointed out by Babinger on p. 343 of his new edition of Goldziher's works and is confirmed by Schaeder, *Z.D.M.G.*, N.F. 4, p. 266, note 3, Manichean élite. Akin to this is also the relation of the disciples to their spiritual guide, the *pir*, *Shaikh* or *ustādh* among the Muhammadan Sūfis. Even if direct lines led from the Muslim world to India—in 712 Muhammad

³⁵ See Grünwedel, *Alt-Kutscha* I, p. 10, regarding the Jain settlements in Turfān.

ibn Qāsim conquered the province of Sindh—yet the Manichean prototype may not have been quite without significance among the Muslim mystics. For the mystic-erotic poetry of the Sūfis, Schaefer (*l.c.*, p. 261) thinks that we should see in an Ugrian Manichean fragment (T. M. 419; v. Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* II, p. 7f) a sort of Manichean first stage.³⁶ Against the custom of the élite to allow themselves to be served by boys the opponents of the much reviled Manicheans bring the charge of encouraging pederasty. That is a wholly unwarranted slander (Cf. v. Wesendonk, *Die Lehre des Mani*, p. 40, note 3; W. Bang, *Ein manichaeischer Laienbeichtspiegel*, pp. 152, 155, 198ff; Schaefer, *Z.D.M.G.*, N.F. 4, p. 266ff.).

Again, an analogy between Buddhism and Manichean doctrine can be seen in the position of women. By Marcion women were permitted to perform even baptism (v. Harnack, *Marcion*, 2nd ed., p. 143, 365* note 2). According to the evidence of Tertullian (*de praescr.* 41) they took part in disputations. Marcus Diaconus describes the appearance of a Manichean female emissary at Gaza about 400 (p. 85 of G. F. Hill's translation). Among the Manicheans women could even become the élite also; in any case, according to the Manichaean view the admixture of luminous parts in women was less than in men, for Adam at the time of his creation was through the demons of darkness richly endowed with light particles and was thus a true copy of the macrocosm, whereas only a spark of light was placed in Eve (v. Wesendonk, *Mani*, p. 30f.). Nuns are known to Buddhism, but were entirely subordinated to monks. On the other hand, one may also be reminded of the Mithra-cult by the élite among the women, which excluded women from the mysteries and referred them probably to the Cybele-cult or other rites.³⁷ Of course female possessors of several mysteries-degrees, at least of the lower grades, such as that of the "Lion", were known to Mithraism also (Porphyry *de abstinentia* IV 16, p. 235f. Nauck; R. Eisler, *Orphisch-dionysische Mysteriengedanken*, p. 316). Only from the "Lion" onward was the mysteries-feast accessible to the initiated (Cumont—Gehrich—Latte, *Die Mysterien des Mithra*, p. 142).

³⁶ With regard to the Islamic arts being influenced by the Manicheans, who communicated to the West, in addition to Sasanian, East-Asiatic materials, s. v. Le Coq, *Die manichäischen Miniaturen*, E. Kühnel, *Miniaturenmalerei im islamischen Orient*, p. 18; Sir T. W. Arnold, *Survivals of Sasanian and Manichean art in Persian painting*, Oxford, 1924. The connection of Sufism with Gnosis, beside other fructifying elements, is emphasised also by Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islam*, p. 268ff.

³⁷ F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra*, II, p. 95, 98, 100, and 300, gives a number of inscriptions in which the wives of followers of Mithraism call themselves worshippers of the Great Mother and Mithra.

Here as well as in other connections, as for instance in asceticism and the Manichean regulations relating to food, it becomes clear that sources lying nearer than India were available. In any case what he learned from India may have served Mānī as a corroboration of the truth of his own views and influenced these in many details hardly provable any longer to-day.

It is not yet quite clear whether the Manicheans recognised the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. Scheftelowitz believes he can adduce examples thereof from Turfān (*Entstehung der manichäischen Religion*, p. 41 and 82). But even if this opinion be accepted and the facts brought forward by Jackson (*J. A. O. S.*, Vol. 45, p. 246ff), be admitted—Schæder relies on the *Fihrist* (Flügel, *Mani*, p. 70) and says there was a transmigration of souls only for the auditors, while the élite went to the paradise of light and the non-Manicheans to hell (*Unters. z. antiken Synkretismus*, p. 272)—no real transmigration of souls could have had a place in the original doctrine of Mānī; on the contrary he recognised only a purification of the souls of the auditors through the instrumentality of the great bucket-wheels (*i.e.* the 12 signs of the zodiac), by means of which the luminous parts of the souls were pushed forward to the sun and the moon.³⁸ Dark souls were, on the other hand, penned up together in *Bōlus*, *i.e.* clod of earth or earth (*Titus v. Bostra A 41*), for according to the strictly dualistic conception of Mānī the final separation of light and darkness is particularly the meaning of the world-event.

Mānī however had no need to borrow even the doctrine of the transmigration of souls from India. Archetypes enough are found among the Gnostics, perhaps in Basileides, as well as in the so-called Hermetical literature, and it need only be borne in mind that even Empedocles, the Orphics, the Pythagoreans³⁹ and Plato were acquainted with metempsychosis. R. Eisler is of opinion that in the animal-mask ceremonies !(Orphisch-dionysische Mysteriengedanken, p. 316)⁴⁰ in the mysteries of Mithra as well as those of Cabiri, he can see an allusion

³⁸ The passage dealt with by v. Le Coq in *Türk. Manichaica I*, p. 8f. and by Bang in *Le Muséon*, 1925, p. 12f., says nothing in favour of transmigration of souls, but only that the soul is tormented on account of, or through, the former body.

³⁹ F. Cumont, *After Life in Roman Paganism*, New Haven, 1922, p. 177f. regards as possible the theory already set up by L. v. Schroeder, *Pythagoras und die Inder*, that the Indian *samsāra*-doctrine had penetrated into Greece.

⁴⁰ F. Legge sees in the animal-masks traces of totemic usages (*Forerunners and rivals of Christianity II*, p. 263) and refers to the use of animal names in other cults of Greece as well as of Asia Minor. Eisler who, *i.e.*, deals with these various mysteries, points on p. 261, note 3, to the Sumerian exorcisms in animal-masks.

to the transmigration of souls. Mithraism, which had already accepted "Chaldean" elements, preserved its final form in Asia Minor. Here Phrygian-Thracian elements acted on it, and thence, and indeed from the Dionysius-cult, come also the conceptions of the transmigration of souls, if these can actually be proved in Mithraism. One would also not concur in the opinion of R. Eisler that the original astral idea of the Iranian Zervanism, the interminable rotation of immutable fate, was introduced into the Greek intellectual world by the Ionian natural philosophy (*l.c.*, p. 333). Neither the astral dogmas nor the "cycle of rebirths" are to be taken for Iranian concepts. Eisler himself refers frequently enough, and indeed for the deification of the space-and time-notions⁴¹ to Mesopotamia (*l.c.*, p. 334, note 1), which one, without being a pan-Babylonist, may regard as the birth-place of the astral ideas. L. de Saussure has drawn attention to allied phenomena in Chinese conceptions. The difficulty of the problem lies in this that it cannot be determined at what time the existence of these views, claimed to be Chinese, is to be established for Iran and Nearer Asia, so that it cannot be ascertained which is the giving and which the receiving party. Besides, many views, as *e.g.* the idea of dualism, of opposition of two original principles, are common to all mankind and nowhere to be fixed. The doctrine of rotation in the Greek world of thought can likewise be explained without dragging in India to account for it.

In any case the pessimistic view of the world-panorama in Manicheism is not to be traced back to Irān. The myth of the imprisonment of the primal man or the soul in matter, which is regarded as dark and evil, is also not Irānian or even Indian,⁴² for the Indian

⁴¹ Burkitt in Mitchell, S. Ephraim's prose refutations II, p. CXXIII, assumes that the typically "Mesopotamian" thinker Bardesan (*l.c.*, p. CXXVII "... Bardaisan really did regard things in general from a rather narrowly Mesopotamian point of view...") saw in space the seventh self-existing being (Mitchell I, p. XCVif.). Time appears to have played no special rôle in Bardesan.

⁴² The fact that the account of Eros and Psyche occurs in the Mithraeum of S. Maria di Capua (Notizie degli scavi 1924), has nothing to do with a possible Irānian character of the myth. The various mysteries stood interrelated to one another. The mysteries of Eros existed in Thespieae. We have little information regarding them. The Mithra-cult maintained relations with the mysteries of Magna Mater, Sarapis, Dionysius, etc. As the Eleusinian priest-families died out, the Athenians fetched from a Greek island a Mithra priest. Gasquet, Mithras, p. 137; Sir Samuel Dill, Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius, p. 625, note 3; F. Legge, Forerunners and rivals of Christianity II, p. 260. The Lycomides, who were associated with the worship of the Eleusinian deities, sang according to Pausanias (9,27,2) hymns in honour of Eros, who in Thespieae as well as among the Orphics was regarded as the first-born god. In Thespieae he was worshipped in the form of a stone. Pausanias 3,27,1.

pessimism is fundamentally of a different type, inasmuch as it regards the visible world as an illusion of the senses, which in order to attain immersion in the only really existing Absolute, must be seen through. In the speculations of the Gnostics Mānī found a model. These have made use of Nearer-Asiatic and Egyptian materials of all sorts, which are partly interspersed with isolated Iranian fragments. Platonic thoughts have found their way into this confused mass out of which, with the help of the religion of Mazdaism with which he was familiar, Mānī built up his new syncretistic doctrine. In India he found many a helpful feature, but Mani's system was no more enriched or altered materially. Such is a picture of the rise of Manicheism, whose significance above all lies in its spread from China to Western Europe. It thus became the connecting link between the East and the West, and has acted wherever it penetrated as a ferment, a proof of the might of purely spiritual movements and of the conquest of the inertia of matter by the religious will.

Oberaudorf am Inn, 6th March, 1926.

Tr. by FIDA ALI KHAN.

HAJI MOHAMMED MOHSIN

Warren Hastings, Raja Ram Mohun Roy and a few others are some of the names that will go down on the roll of history when the annals of Bengal are complete; they form a galaxy of benefactors to the Province. Not the least among these bright constellations shines the star of Haji Mohammed Mohsin, the great benefactor of the Moslem community of Bengal. His name will be handed down from father to son to generations unborn, for what he did for the promotion of Muslim education in this country. His munificence welled forth in many directions, but the greatest current gushed along the channel of higher education; and generations have arisen and will arise to bless the name of the patriot, who gave his all in order that a grateful posterity might lisp his name with love and fervid admiration.

The life-story of such a philanthropist should prove of absorbing interest to many, however briefly it be related. Haji Mohammed Mohsin was born in 1730 A.D. When he was ten years of age, his instruction in the Moslem classics, Arabic and Persian, began. He made good progress in his studies under Agha Shirazi, a Persian scholar of great erudition. Both Mohsin and his half-sister Mannu Jan Khanum, who was his elder by eight years, were educated at the feet of the same *ustâd*, Agha Shirazi. "Agha Shirazi, besides being profoundly learned, was a man of considerable worldly wisdom and experience, and had travelled extensively in foreign countries before settling down in Hughli. He was fond of narrating the tales of his travels and describing his adventures in foreign and other distant lands to his young pupils; and no one could wish for a better audience. The imagination of young Mohsin was fired by these thrilling stories; and he early conceived that irrepressible longing to travel in far-off lands which formed such a notable feature of his later life and which kept him away from a luxurious home for more than a quarter of a century."

He travelled far and wide. Egypt, Turkey, Persia, particularly Kerbela and other sacred Shia shrines were visited by him in the course of his extensive travels. He returned to India when he was about sixty with a unique reputation for scholarship.

When his half-sister died, he became, by the terms of her will, the sole heir of her enormous fortune. In spite of the possession of immense wealth he continued to lead the same simple life to which he had been accustomed from the days of his boyhood. He began to spend large amounts in charities; and his purse was ever open to the needy and the deserving. His charities knew no bounds of caste or creed.

He was not only a scholar but also a renowned caligraphist. Before he inherited his sister's fortune, he was, it is said, "in the habit of giving away copies which he had made of the *Quran* to the poor and the needy, who had no difficulty in obtaining very large sums for Mohsin's gift, thanks to its charming caligraphy. Ordinarily they were said to fetch Rs. 1,000 per copy; and it is on record that the number of the *Qurans* which he gave away *gratis* was no fewer than seventy-two copies."

On the 20th of April, 1806, the Haji, who was unmarried and had no heirs, signed a Deed of Trust by which he gave away the whole of his fortune, representing then an annual income of Rs. 45,000 but now yielding several times that amount, for charitable purposes. The original will is preserved in the *Imambarah* at Hughli, but a translation in English is to be found on its northern wall. It runs thus:—

"I, Haji Mahomed Mohsin, son of Haji Faizullah, inhabitant of Ban-i-Hughli, in the full possession of all my senses and faculties, with my own free will and accord, do make the following correct and legal declaration: that is the *Zemindary of Perganna Saidpur (Quismat)* appendant to *Zillah aforesaid*, and one house situated in Hughli (known and distinguished as *Imambarah*) and *Imambazar* and *Hat* (Market) also situated at Hughli and all the goods and chattels appertaining to the *Imambara* agreeably to the separate list; the whole of which have devolved upon me by inheritance, and of which the proprietary possession I enjoy up to the present time; as I have no children nor grandchildren nor any other relatives who would become my legal heirs; and as I have full wish and desire to keep up and continue the usages and charitable expenditures (*Marasim-o-akhrajat-i-Hasanah*) at the *Fateha*, etc., of the *Huzur* (on whom be blessings and rewards) which have been the established practice of this family, I therefore hereby give purely for the sake of God, the whole of the above property, with all its rights, immunities and privileges whole and entire, little or much in, with, or from it, and whatever (by way of appendage) might arise from it, relate or belong to it—as a permanent appropriation for the following expenditures: and have hereby appointed *Rajab Ali Khan* son of *Sheik Mahomed Sadeq*, and *Shakir Ali Khan*, son of *Ahmed Khan*, who have been tried and approved by me as possessing understanding, knowledge, religion and probity, *Mutwallis* (Trustees or Superintendents) of the said *Wakf* to appropriation, which I have given in trust to the above two individuals—that, aiming and assisting each other, they might consult, advise and agree together in the joint management of the business of the appropriation, in the manner as follows: that the aforementioned *Mutwallis* after paying the revenues of Government, shall divide the remaining produce of the *Mahals* aforementioned

into nine shares of which three shares they shall disburse in the observance of the *Fateha* of *Hazrat Syud-i-Kainat* (Chief of Creation) the last of the prophets, and the sinless *Imams* (on all whom be blessings and peace of God) and in the expenditure appertaining to the *Ushra* of *Moharrum-ul-haram* (ten days of the *Moharrum*) and all other blessed days of feasts and festivals, and in the repairs of the *Imambarah* and the cemetery: two shares the *Mutwallis* in equal portion, shall appropriate to themselves for their own expenses and four shares shall be distributed in the payment of the establishment and of those whose names are inserted in the separate list signed and sealed by me. In regard to daily expenses, monthly stipends of the stipendiaries, respectable men, *peadas* and other persons who at this present moment stand appointed, the *Mutwallis* aforementioned, alter me, have full power to retain, abolish, or discharge them as it may appear to them most fit and expedient. I have publicly committed the appropriation to the charge of the two abovenamed individuals. In the event of a *Mutwalli* finding himself unable to conduct the business of the appropriation, he may appoint any one whom he may think most fit and proper, as a *Mutwalli* to act in his behalf. For the above reason this document is given in writing this 19th day of *Bysack* in the year 1221 *Hejira*, corresponding with the Bengal year 1213 (20th April 1806), that whenever it be required it may prove a legal deed."

The Mohsin Fund was applied originally to the foundation and support of the Hughli College, an institution where the Mohammedans were in a hopeless minority. To this arrangement the objection was raised that an institution, almost exclusively frequented by Hindus, was not the most suitable recipient of the income of a distinctly Mahomedan endowment and chiefly on the representations of the late Nawab Bahadur Abdul Latif, C.I.E., the Government of Sir George Campbell, by a Resolution, dated the 29th July 1873, decided that "the Fund should be used exclusively for the promotion of Education among Mahomedans, the Hughli College being maintained from other sources." The Government accordingly set aside the educational portion of the Mohsin Fund for the maintenance of the orthodox Madrasahs at Dacca, Chittagong, Rajshahi and Hughli and for helping Mohammadan boys studying in English Schools and Colleges in Bengal by contributing two-thirds of their fees. It is admitted on all hands that this arrangement has proved highly beneficial to the educational interests of the Mohammedan community.

The Imambara of Haji Mohsin at Hughli alone stands as a lasting memorial to a life so great. It has been rightly described in these words: "It is a superb structure, stately and majestic, in which grandeur is happily wedded to beauty."

The tomb of Haji Mohsin may be sought by many pious and generous Moslems, who love to offer their prayers for the soul of one who, in his turn, was the "soul of love." But great men such as

he are not easily forgotten; they live for ever enshrined in the hearts of thousands of grateful followers. His was one example that is now a national inheritance, and his a life of perennial inspiration to his fellow-citizens. Towering as he did over others because of his personality, because of his piety, because of his munificence, one may well say of him as the great Bard said of another:

“ He was a man that take him all in all,

“ We shall not look upon his like again.”

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI.

THE PART PLAYED BY THE NAWABS OF OUDH

In Later Mogul History.

The early part of the XVIII century saw many a man rise to the surface of state affairs from where they exercised no inconsiderable influence on the fortunes of the empire. One of the most prominent of these was Mohd. Amin Saadat Khan Burhanulmulk, the founder of the Oudh dynasty. He was one of the noblest *syeds* of Naishapur and had come to India during the reign of Bahadur Shah.

The mighty Mughal Empire which for more than a century and-a-half had commanded awe and respect abroad had since Aurangzeb's death fallen into feeble hands which moved at the crooked advice of the court minions. The sun of Moghal glory had set for ever. Bahadur Shah, the immediate successor of Aurangzeb, had indeed maintained order fairly well during his short reign of five years, but his son Jahandar Shah squandered the wealth of the state in ministering to the pleasures of his beloved Lal Kunwar. He was however not destined long to indulge in such pursuits derogatory as they were to a descendant of Taimur, and in a contest eleven months after he was defeated and subsequently killed by Furrukhsyar, who then proclaimed himself king. The Barha Syeds had played the most prominent part in this struggle, and it was the strength of their right arm that had raised him to the throne. As a reward they were honoured, the elder with the *wizarat* and the younger with the post of the 1st Bakhshi with the title of Amirul Omrah. Once in possession of the reins of the state the Syed brothers began to drive furiously. The emperor grew tired of their irksome control and began to hatch plots for their destruction, but he had not the nerve to carry them through and the result was that they recoiled upon himself, ending in his deposition and death. After the short but nominal reign of two other princes the Syed brothers raised Mohd. Shah to the throne. Strict vigilance however was kept on him and he was not allowed freedom even in his personal affairs.¹

To release him from the thralldom of the king-makers was now the wish of every imperialist, and in this connection Saadat Khan first comes into prominence.

¹ Gholam Husain Says :

برای سواری نماز جمعه و شکار مختار نبودند (سیر الامتاریخ)

Notwithstanding the fact that he was a Shia and a *Syed* and a protégé of Husain Ali, his loyalty for his sovereign overcame all secondary considerations and he willingly joined hands with other conspirators. A plot was soon hatched and Husain Ali, the stronger of the two brothers, was removed by assassination. A tumult then arose headed by the Syeds' adherents, and but for the intrepidity of Saadat Khan the whole scheme would have come to the ground. Syed Ghulam Ali Khan, Husain Ali's cousin, and others had tried to obtain possession of the Emperor's person, the pivot on which everything rested, when they were captured and imprisoned by Saadat Khan. To restore confidence it was essential that the Emperor should show himself to the public, but this he was fearful of doing and had consequently withdrawn himself into the women's apartment. Here again Saadat Khan proved useful. Throwing a shawl over his head he went into the inner apartment and brought the Emperor out.

The crisis had now passed. The conspirators had achieved their immediate object but the trouble was by no means over; they had still to reckon with the elder brother, Syed Abdullah Khan, who raised another prince to the throne and was recklessly spending the royal treasure in gathering troops. Cart-loads of his clansmen were pouring in every day and everyone of the Barha branch, whether in service or not, had made it a point of honour to wage a war of vengeance for the blood of their hero under the banner of his elder brother. Soon an army of a hundred thousand men was got together and Abdullah Khan pitched his camp at Hasanpur. The imperialists marched to meet him and a hotly contested battle was fought, during which Saadat Khan successfully created a diversion on the left wing and thus materially contributed to the success of Mohammad Shah. The Emperor was now free, and the meritorious services of Saadat Khan were rewarded with the subedari of Oudh and the *mansab* of 6,000.

Mohd. Shah might have used this opportunity to infuse some sort of spirit into the almost moribund empire, but he did not possess the firmness of mind necessary to effect it. He had escaped from one thralldom only to fall into another now exercised by a set of men low in their origin and selfish in their purposes. Under their auspices there was a regular sale of offices as of land, much corruption, great villainy and gross maladministration. The Emperor himself had stooped to participate in their practices, and when Nizamulmuluk, trained in the school of Alamgir, wanted to evolve some sort of order out of the

confusion he was simply sneered at.² It was essential for the welfare of the people, for the benefit of the state, nay for the safety of the Emperor himself, that this *junta* should be broken, and here came in Saadat Khan, the former deliverer. Along with Samsam-ud-daulah Khan Dauran he urged on Shaikh Mohammed Fazil and Moti Lal to bring charges of embezzlement against Shah Abdul Gaffur (the principal of the *junta*) which led to his degradation and ruin. At the same time the other favourite, Koki Padshah Begum lost her hold on the Emperor and by 1732 the latter was again free.

It seemed that the people would now enjoy some rest after many years of extortion and oppression, but this was not destined to be and while the storm lulled within it broke out without and raged year after year with increasing momentum and force till the capital of the empire itself was a scene of bloodshed and starvation.

In the early years of Mohd. Shah's reign the Marathas had been busy in establishing their hold in Gujrat and Malwa, but once the gateways of the empire came into their possession their vision rose higher, with the result that they began to repeat their annual incursions into the richer plains of Northern India.³ The grandees of the empire did absolutely nothing to check their onslaughts and Gholam Husain, the author of *Seir ul Mutakharin*, has painted their imbecility in the following:—

مصمّم الدوله بجای خود نسنسته تدبیرات می اندیشید و خلاصه آن به جی سنگه می نگاشه
اعتماد الدوله علی هذا القیاس گاهی غافل از خود گاهی در هراس بمعسّر خود نشسته اسه
بارفتای خود و امرای همقوم می نمود راجه ابهی سنگه را نهور در وطن خود عرق نشه ا
روزانه در خواب و شدہا در پیچ و تاب کہ چه باید کرد (p. 474)

The Emperor himself was as careless as the nobles, and when report was made of the Maratha invasion he allowed himself to be diverted towards hunting expeditions. While the glory of the empire was being thus shorn away Saadat Khan again stepped forward to retrieve it. Notwithstanding the fact that his province was not exposed to the Maratha lance he crossed the Jumna and inflicted a crushing

² Gholam Husain Says :

بادشاه و امرا از صحبت نظام الملک نفرو همیشه او را استهزا می نمودند (p. 458)

* بخشیدن موبه گجرات تسکین التهاب آتش حرص آنها نه نمود بلکه مددور خود بیشتر از پیشتر دیده مرورا

گردیده دست از تهر و گستاخی باز نکشیدند (سیر المتأخرین p. 475)

defeat on a party of the Maratha horse under Mulhar Rao Holker, taking three of their chiefs prisoner. He was resolved to push the advantage further and drive them out of the Nurbada, but here he was hampered by the jealousy of Khan Dauran, who with a view to share in his fame, strictly commanded him not to move until he joined.⁴ Perforce Saadat Khan stopped and Baji Rao was quick to take advantage of this delay. He rapidly marched to Delhi, which he thoroughly plundered.

While things were moving thus a calamity far more terrible in its consequences, immediate as well as remote, befell the country in the invasion of Nadir Shah, who marched to India with his hardy warriors in the last quarter of 1738. The imperial army after contemptuous delay had marched to meet the invader and encamped at Karnal. Saadat Khan, who so many times came to the Emperor's rescue, was immediately summoned from Oudh. Saadat's part in this battle is grossly painted by Col. Dow, who charges him with black treachery and represents his exertions on behalf of the Emperor as a plan "concerted between Nadir Shah and the traitor to draw the Moguls from their intrenchment" (p. 289), giving as an explanation for this his desire "to get a start of the Nizamulmulk" (Dow's *History of Hindostan*, Vol. II, p. 290). On the other hand Faiz Bukhsh, a contemporary historian, calls Saadat Khan "an angel in human guise"⁵ who had many a time rendered aid to the Emperor in his hours of peril, and so long as he lived the imperial dignity was not subjected to the humiliation which befell it later on.

But the truth lies in neither extreme, and though on the day of battle, while the Nizam and the Emperor were standing in one corner of the field still as wooden figures, Saadat Khan was making earnest endeavours to win the ground and save the country from the impending disaster, yet when a captive in the hands of Nadir Shah and being stung to the quick at the news that on Samsamuddaulah's death his claims to succeed him in the office of the 1st Bakhshi were disregarded in favour of the Nizam, who had done absolutely nothing throughout, his passions got the better of his reason and led him to advise Nadir Shah to proceed to Delhi. This unfortunate advice afforded his enemies an opportunity of throwing dust over his past meritorious services and branding him with the name of a traitor, although it is not clear whether irrespective of his advice Nadir Shah

⁴ Khan Dauran wrote to him :—

من عنقریب میرسم تا آمدن من توقف نماید (سیر المتأخرین) (p. 476)

⁵ W. Hoey's *Memoirs of Delhi and Fyzabad*, Vol. I, Appendix p. 12.

would not have marched to the capital, which is suggested by some to have been his intention all along.

Soon after this event Saadat Khan died from the effects of cancer and was succeeded in his Subedari of Oudh by his nephew and son-in-law Abul Munsoor Khan Safdur Jung, who was also given the post of Mir Atash or Commander of the Royal Artillery.

After having thoroughly plundered the capital Nadir Shah left for his country, but his destructive work, unlike that of Taimur, did not end with him. It was continued by Ahmad Shah Abdali, who made not less than seven invasions into India, the first of which occurred in the year 1747.

Having defeated Shah Nawaz Khan, the Punjab Governor, the Abdali marched onward with a view to repeat the ravages of Nadir, but was met at Surhind by the imperial army under the prince Ahmad Shah. The Abdali assaulted the royal quarters and a mighty loss, involving great disgrace, was about to befall when Abul Munsoor Safdur Jung putting himself between the royal troops and the Abdalis brought the latter to a stand and retrieved the situation (Mustafa's Translation of the *Seir ul Mutakharin*, p. 262). This conspicuous service at the time of extreme danger was rewarded with the *wizarat*, in addition to his former offices, when the prince Ahmad Shah ascended the throne on the death of his father Mohd. Shah, which took place in 1748.

As a *Wazir* Safdurjung displayed a tact and a foresight that might well have given a new lease to the empire had he been allowed a free hand in administration. During the ministership of his predecessor, the short-sighted and negligent Qamaruddin, a new power had risen to an amazing height under its leader Ali Mohd. Khan Rohilla in the close vicinity of Delhi. It was indeed criminal on the part of Qamaruddin to have allowed the Rohillas to take root so near the capital, nay doubly criminal considering that at the same time another Afghan, Ahmad Shah Abdali, was repeating his incursions with a view to complete the work of Nadirshah. Dreading the consequences of a junction between an enemy within and an enemy without and in order to avoid a Paniput, Abul Munsoor took it upon himself to uproot while yet in its beginnings the colony of the Rohillas. Moreover he had a strong personal interest in doing so, as their extraordinarily rapid rise boded ill for Oudh.

A convenient opportunity soon presented itself in the death of Ali Mohd. Khan, which involved his heirs in dispute. Abul Munsoor was quick to avail himself of it and he incited Kaim Khan Bangush, an Afghan, to wage war with his countrymen, the heirs of Ali Mohd.

Khan, thus extracting one thorn with the other. It so happened that Kaim Khan was defeated and killed, and then the wazir marched into his territory and took possession of the whole, reserving however a small portion as an allowance for Kaim Khan's family. The work of the wazir was nearly completed when the unusual strictness of his deputy Newal Rai brought about a revolt, in the course of which Newal Rai was killed. The wazir marched from the capital with Surajmal Jat as his ally but met with a severe reverse. This defeat put Safdur Jung on the horns of a dilemma. To crush the Rohillas, now grown immensely powerful, his only resource was to call in the Marathas, but this would mean bringing a new danger in place of the old. To conciliate the Rohillas, on the other hand, might avert the trouble for the moment but it might recur and end with an Abdali on the throne of Delhi. He had therefore to choose between a Sironj and a Paniput, and those who blame him for calling in the Marathas do not seriously consider the crisis. The Marathas were however invited, and with their help the wazir inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Rohillas and thereby freed the empire from the danger that had threatened from that quarter.

While thus the wazir was curbing the Rohillas with a view to prepare for the Afghan storm which he foresaw on the horizon, it actually broke out and darkened the whole of the Punjab. Ahmad Shah Abdali made his third effort, defeated the Mogul Governor, Mir Munno, and took possession of both Lahore and Multan. No sooner was the news conveyed to the wazir than he returned to the capital, but to his great disappointment the Emperor had meanwhile undone his whole work. Prompted by Javid Khan, a eunuch who now acted as a virtual prime minister, and supported by a party of treacherous grandees all jealous of any fresh accession of glory which the wazir would gain a second time, the Emperor had hastily granted Abdali's demands and legalised his capture by a royal *firmán*. Shocked at so shameful a compromise the wazir refused to come into the city. He perceived that the pernicious influence of the eunuch was upsetting the whole frame of the administration. Under his influence Aman Khan, an actor by profession, was exalted to the high rank of 7,000 and given the title of Mutakiduddaulah. To prevent further mischief being done the wazir had the eunuch assassinated, but unfortunately this created further trouble. The Emperor deeply resented the murder of his favourite and encouraged a conspiracy formed among the younger nobles, most prominent of whom was Ghaziuddin, to destroy the wazir. The wazir realised its full import, but not deeming it proper to wage a

war against his sovereign he merely asked for leave to retire to his Subedari. In reply a cannon was turned against his palace and the wazir was driven to resistance, which lasted for full six months. At last negotiations were opened and the wazir retired to his Subedari, his office being taken from him and given to Intizamuddaulah.

The ambitious Ghaziuddin who had played the chief part in the late struggle and who had come to possess all the power, now began to rule with an iron hand, and the Emperor soon found that he had made the change for the worse. To get rid of him the Emperor entered into a plot with Surajmal Jat who was then sorely pressed by both the Marathas and Ghaziuddin. Surajmal advised the Emperor to call his old wazir Abul Munsoor to his aid and then to march to his country, where they would envelope both the Marathas and Ghaziuddin and crush them. Notwithstanding the cold ingratitude with which the Emperor had rewarded his services Abul Munsoor was yet ready to save him, if it could be done, and carried out his part of the programme by marching to Koel. Ahmad Shah had also left the capital but instead of promptly effecting a junction with Abul Munsoor at Koel, as was settled, he loitered at Sikandara, with the result that he had shamefully to fly to the capital at the sight of the Maratha horse which had heard of the conspiracy. The Capital of the Empire however did not prove a shelter against the anger of Ghaziuddin, who took a summary vengeance by putting Ahmad Shah to death and raising Alamgir II on the throne. But from the very moment of his instalment Alamgir II was subjected to very severe treatment. His short reign was full of miseries. To save his son Ali Gauhar from a like fate Alamgir availed himself of an opportunity to send him off to the East. The prince without money and without resource sought asylum everywhere, but this was everywhere refused to him. Greatly distressed he started for Oudh, the centre from which relief had come many a time to the Moghal Kings, and here an honourable reception was accorded to him by Shujauddaulah, the son and successor of Abul Mansoor, who had lately expired. Ghulam Husain says:—

شجاع الدوله خلف وزير الممالك صفر جنگ استقبال نموده شرف گزینش یک
اشرفی بنذر گذرانیده بعد ازان یک لکھ روپیہ نقد و در زنجیر فیل مع عملی سایہ بان
و ہفت راس اسب و یک خزانچہ جواہر اتمشہ و اسلحہ و قیام و ظروف و دہ ارابہ بارکۃ

ساخت (p 906)

Meanwhile the lot of the Emperor was to be pitied. Kept in strict thralldom by the tyrant Ghaziuddin he looked up to the Abdali

for his release. The Abdali was also invited by his countrymen the Rohillas, and being assured of substantial aid he started on his sixth invasion in 1760. Fearful of consequences which his insults to the Moghal throne would have drawn upon him and learning of Alamgir's invitation to the Abdali, Ghaziuddin fled to the Jat country after effecting one more revolution by putting the Emperor to death and raising another in his place under the title of Shahjahan-i-Sani. This step led to the supersession of the legal heir Ali Gauhar, and Shujauddaulah could not let it pass unobserved. Leaving the prince in the East busy in creating a kingdom for himself in Bengal, he on being invited, marched on to Delhi to advocate the royal cause and share on his behalf in the forthcoming struggle. The field of Panipat which had many a time before decided the fate of India was once more to witness a mighty contest followed by a revolution. The huge Maratha army under the leadership of Sadheshive Rao Bhao advanced from the South to meet the hardy warriors of the North-West joined by the Rohillas and the Nawab Wazir and the memorable battle began. In this battle Shujauddaulah played a very conspicuous part; indeed, according to Franklin, so valuable was his aid that the Abdali caused the victory to be registered in his name. Availing himself of this happy moment Shujauddaulah got Ali Gauhar proclaimed Emperor of Delhi under the title of Shah Aalam, with himself as his wazir. So far we find that Shujauddaulah was eminently successful.

But Shah Aalam's own efforts in the East had ended in failure. He had twice attempted to conquer Bengal but each time met with a reverse. To wipe off the disgrace which the imperial dignity had suffered and prompted by Mir Kasim, the dispossessed ruler of Bengal, Shujauddaulah marched from his country and fought another memorable battle on the plains of Buxar with the English, in which in spite of his brave exertions and generalship he was badly defeated. As a result of this, the Emperor delivered himself over to the English and Shujauddaulah followed suit soon after. By the treaty of Allahabad his country was given back to him, but Kora and Allahabad were taken away and formed into a principality for Shah Aalam. It would have been better for Shah Aalam to have lived there contented, but being swayed by the counsels of designing persons who saw in his return to the capital the revival of their own consequence, and contrary to the advice of both Shujauddaulah and the English, the Emperor started for Delhi.

Nevertheless Shujauddaulah did not slacken his efforts in the royal cause. The help that the Rohillas had rendered to the Abdali had immensely increased their power as well as prestige, and the danger

which Abul Mansoor Safdar Jang had so wisely removed once more appeared. Taking leave of the Emperor therefore Shujauddaulah marched into the Rohilla country with the aid of the English and inflicted a severe defeat upon them. Unfortunately he did not live long to give the imperial throne adequate security and very soon after Zabita Khan Rohilla's tyranny over Shah Aalam began. But here came forward his son Asafuddaulah and he by well-timed offering of men and money freed the Emperor from his oppressions. A worse fate however awaited Shah Aalam when Ghulam Qadir Khan, another most cruel representative of the Rohillas, marched to Delhi. Having obtained possession of the royal palace he began by speaking harsh words to the Emperor and then thrust a dagger into his eyes. The miserable Emperor was soon released by the efforts of Mahadaji Sindhia, but henceforth a settled melancholy possessed him, and if at times his face brightened up it was when he repeated the following couplet which he himself had composed in his moments of utter gloominess:—

اصف الدوله و انگريز كه دلسوز من اند چه عجب كه بنمايند مددگار من ما

NAJMUL HUSAIN.



THE HISTORY OF URDU POETRY.

(Translated from the *Ab-i-Hayât of Azâd*.—cont. from Pt. iii).

When inventiveness is in its initial stage such is wont to be the case. Time works improvement in the beginners; by trimming it brings to the highest degree both in merit and in mode. But at that time no other devoted in this direction that attention whereby this style would have become the vogue. Malik Muhammad Jâ'isî to be sure wrote besides his *masnavi* (elegy) *Padmâwat* other songs, and they were of such a very high order as to be of exceeding help in the composition of Dr. Gilchrist's work. But it is astonishing that he has no poem in a Persian metre. In the Deccan there lived a certain Sa'dî, of whom only this much is known that he imagined himself to be Hindostan's Sa'dî of Shîrâz, and strange to tell, Mirza Rafi' *Sawda* in his *Tazkira* (biographical account of the poets) ascribed the following lines of his to Sa'dî of Shiraz:

Seeing the sign on your brow I asked, what demon see I here?
Said he: Out, you daftie, it's the custom in our city here!

I gave my heart to you; you took it and gave to me pain;
Thus did I, and thus did you—what fine love do I see here!

Sa'dî who composed in *Rekhta*, poured out pearls in *Rekhta*,¹
Both milk and sugar he poured, both ballads and songs are here.

The *Duhras* of Kabîr, Tulsi Das, and others are widely quoted, but they serve to authenticate only this much that in that age Persian words were in use among the Hindus. Those writers had no connection with this poetry, which deriving from Persian appeared in the dress of Urdu, and giving the indigenous owner no right of access set him on one side in the corner.

There is a poet Hâmîd, whose period is unknown. It is said that

¹ In each case *rekhta*, which has the following meanings: poured, scattered; a dialect of Urdu and Persian mixed; an ode; in the Deccan dialect, in which it is pronounced *rikhtâ*, a ballad, ditty. The remaining verses of the article illustrate this "mixed" dialect, but the crudities defy rendering.

the Hâmidbârî is his composition. I have seen only a seven-line *ghasal* of his and from this it appears that he was possibly a Panjabi gentleman. I content myself with quoting only its *matla'* (opening couplet):

When you resolved to journey, Dear, sleep came not to my eyes;
I knew not union's worth; without you severance vexed me.

If these lines are poetry, then countless poets will be found between that time and the present in the Panjab; these lines are still typical of the poetry of this region. But with such versifiers and verses we are not concerned here. Ahmad of Gujrât, a contemporary and countryman of Walî, writes:

If one do place a crow's egg beneath a great Sîmurgh,²
Its real nature ever stays,—let him aim a pellet at it!

Though acrobat's bantling studious prove and well-informed,
Its real state ne'er disappears,—just show a fiddle near it!

If one rear up a tiger's cub on a fox's milk,
It brave remains, and a little tiger you 'll find it!

Sewâ was an author in the Deccan, who translated into the Deccani dialect the work *Rawdatush Shuhadâ'*. His elegies are still read there in the Imâm-bâras,³ and it is probable that poets of this sort were numerous in those times, but this kind of poetry cannot be termed classical.

An author called *Nawâz* wrote in Bhasha in the reign of Farrukh Siyar (r. 1713-19) a translation of *Sakuntala*. In that period the cause of the weakness of Urdu poetry must have been that well-qualified persons whose mother-tongue was Urdu had no pride in Urdu poetry; if they composed, they did so in Persian. The general run of folks possessed of rhythmical sense uttered, to be sure, those sentiments which occurred to them as expressing the longings of their hearts. But those persons belonging to the country of the rulers who were poets, wrote Persian poetry; Urdu they did not know; if they did compose in it, it appeared as though they were only fooling. And so, if one looks at various poems of Mirza Mu'izz Mûsavi Khân *Fitrat*, who was of the pick of the poets of Irân and a pillar of the poets of the time of Alamgîr (r. 1659-1707), and of those of Qizilbâsh Khân *Ummid* after

² *Sî-murgh*, lit. of the size of "thirty birds;" a griffin or other fabulous bird.

³ Shrines to the memory of Hasan and Husain, grandsons of the Prophet.

him, it is evident that they could not do justice to the then hirpling and halting language. For instance Mîr Mu'izz says:—

Through thy black tress my heart is thrown in a fluster,
In its mirrored chamber a black cloud doth gather.⁴

Qizilbash Khan *Ummid*, notwithstanding the fact that he has a great reputation in Persian, and his enthusiastic poetic assemblies are famous among the people of India, yet here is an illustration of his competence in Urdu:—

The Brahman's daughter met me to-day outside,
She stormed at me, abused me, and fought beside.

There is unanimity about this that our present poetry made its début from the Deccan; as Mir Taqî has indicated in poetic fashion in a *ghazal*:

Not without cause I'm used to *Rekhta*-brogue,
For the Beloved I sing is a native of Deccan;

and his contemporary, Qâ'im, has clearly expressed in the words:

Rekhta took the *ghazal* for form in Qâim,
—'Twas a poor thing else in the Deccan tongue.

In the time of Ālamgîr however Walî lit the lamp of this poetry which in the reign of Muhammad Shah (r. 1719-1748) grew to a star shining in the firmament, and in that of Shah Ālam (r. 1759-1806) became a sun⁵ and ascended to the zenith.

In connection with the rise of Urdu poetry this point deserves to be stated that in Sanskrit a word may have several meanings; hence in that language, and in Braj Bhasha, its derivative, the *Duhra* was based on equivocal words and on amphibology. This device is also found in Persian, but is rare. In Urdu the very earliest verses were constructed in this style, and in the poetry of the first period ⁶ this canon

⁴ *dâm* for *dhâm*; *jâm* for *jhâm*.

⁵ Aftâb (the sun) was the poetical name of Shah Ālam; he was a very keen poet and there are four *diwâns* (collections) of his in existence.

⁶ *Azâd* in this work, *Āb-i Hayât*, has divided the leading Urdu poets under five periods:—

(1) Walî, etc.,

(2) Shah Hâtim; Khân-i-Arzû; Fughân.

(3) Mirza Mazhar Jân-i Jânân; Mîr Soz; Mîr Taqî; Mirza Rafî' Sawda; Khwaja Mîr Dard.

(4) Mashafî; Saiyid Inshâ; Jur'at.

(5) Nâsikh; Ātash; Shah Nasr; Mumin, Zawq, Ghâlib.

was in force. I give here as an example several lines belonging to that period:

The lock of my idol of down-cheek⁷ is like "lâm" in Nasta'liq-script,

But a kâfir I'd be if I stayed not a liege of Islam.⁸

From me why should not my Love revolt,⁹

Whose stature's like that of a stripling!

When the river thou crossest this side to that,

My heart within goes this way, that.

Whether you mark me or not saluting,

Long this hand¹⁰ has been on my head.

Whom God gives beauty needs no adorning;

See you, the eclipse¹¹ disfigures the moon!

With his saucy grace he ne'er will leave my heart-cash,

To-day that Afghan youth cometh, his mind made up¹² to take it.

Black locks yield not up the heart they captivate;

If my word you take not, ask and see.¹³

Shah Hâtîm with great effort freed Urdu from these extravagances, as will be seen from reading the account given of him later on.

In the age of *Sawda* also this corrupt matter continued, as he too in an ode complained of these masters; one of its verses runs:—

If the hair have not the comb's attentions, 'twill be like a pestle,
Though the dagger be of Râmpûr, they call it Sîta-phal.¹⁴

⁷ Also *calligrapher*.

⁸ a play on *is* and *lâm* (together making *Islâm*).

⁹ play on the word *bâgh*.

¹⁰ *Kar* in Hindi denotes "revenue from taxes;" in Sanskrit "hand;" this name is also given to the dandruff at the roots of the hair.

¹¹ *gahna*: eclipse, jewels.

¹² the word *Pathan* can also be read.

¹³ also: "see the parting of his hair."

¹⁴ i.e., "the sweet pumpkin;" there is a play on *Sîta* and *Râm*.

But the joke is that he himself on occasion composed in this style, as for instance:—

Even the gem-cutter's son is no less than Messiah,
If the turquoise be dead, he makes it vivid.¹⁵

Although these styles as compared with before simply ceased to exist, still in the extent to which they do exist they have so influenced the language that whatever themes we have nowadays to express they make their presence felt in them. Nor may one forget that just as a young bird sheds its first plumage and puts on new, so our language keeps changing its vocabulary. Thus there are many words whose periodicity has been indicated in the works of the poets.

It is to be noted with regret that our poetry has been caught in the meshes of several ordinary aims, *viz.*, erotic themes; wine-bibbing to intoxication; the production of fantastic colour and fragrance, without flowers and flower-garden; bewailing the affliction of separation; pleasure in imaginary union; disgust with the world, with which goes the tyranny of the sky. And the pity is that if they desire to express any actual event, they do so in figures of speech, with the result that they can accomplish nothing. My friends, I see the museum of the arts and sciences open and every nation has arranged the productions of its literary art; do you mark where our language stands? Ah, it is clear to sight that it is collapsed on the door-mat!

Of our ancestors in Delhi, first Mirza Rafi' *Sawda*, then Shaykh Ibrahim *Zawq* created real vigour in poetry through the use of chaste language, purity in words, and terseness in method; Mir Taqi *Mir* and Khwaja Mir *Dard* finely expressed the themes of lamentation, dejection, and disgust with the world; *Ghâlib* on occasion splendidly followed their lead, but he had a passion for devising new turns of thought, and his concern was chiefly with Persian, so that in Urdu the number of his purely Urdu verses probably did not exceed a hundred or two. *Jur'at* expressed most delightfully and charmingly the relations between the Lover and the Beloved, and their emotions. Mu'min Khan followed in their wake, notwithstanding his *penchant* for difficult terminology. In Lucknow, Shaykh Imâm Bakhsh *Nâsikh* and Khwaja Haidar Ali *Atash*, *Rind*, *Sabâ*, *Wazîr*, etc., did full justice by poetry. But consider, what benefit is there in merely turning the linguistic parrot into a *maina* (starling)? Any poet who cannot fully express our every aim

¹⁵ i.e., "alive" or "lustrous,"

and every kind of desire of our heart is like a broken reed-pen which cannot trace a complete letter. In the metropolis of Delhi, which was the mint-town of Urdu composition and poetry, *Zawq* and *Ghalib* did not go beyond the beaten track of poetry. In Lucknow, commencing with *Nasikh* and *Atash* its succession continued to *Rind*, *Wazir*, and *Saba*. At one time it was a common proverb: The *passé* poet turns elegist, and the *passé* singer a reciter of elegies.¹⁶ But in Lucknow there were such masters of both these branches as shed lustre on the roots. In view of this it can be stated that with *Mir Anis* and *Mirza Dabir* ended the Urdu poets. And since production of the masters of this art depends on an exceeding measure of comfortable conditions, on an appreciative age, and numerous provisoes besides, and since the disposition of the present age is entirely unfavourable, Hindostan must depair of the progress of this poetry and the production of such poets. Should of course a new fashion emerge then there is no saying what may be achieved, and what masters may come to the fore.

In conclusion, when the question was put to the seer of Reason: Will this poetry's star, which is now experiencing the ill-luck of decline, ever rise in fortune's ascendant? the answer came back: No. It was then asked: Why? The answer was received: It is not the language of the present rulers, nor is it useful to them, therefore they do not appreciate it, nor do they know it, nor do they feel any pride in knowing it. Accordingly our poets have gained the title of false flatterers. Well, well! O Fate! Our portion! Those people whose poetry was considered authoritative for our language, such is the honour in which they are held! And now the mourners of this half-dead one are left a few old folks, whose sorrowful voices remain suppressed in their breasts, rising sometimes to the tunes of deep sighs. If at times they feel tranquil, they arrange a *mushâ'arah* (a gathering in which poets recite their latest productions), and seated together entertain themselves happily with praises of one another. The poor poets, for the preservation of the graves of their predecessors, may be content with such plaudits, but what to do for their stomach? This hell is not filled with any amount of eulogy.

Again the question was put: Is there any means whereby its days may be restored, and the garden of our poetry again appear verdant?

¹⁶ The special reference is to the dirge of Hasan and Husain, grandsons of the Prophet, which is recited in the month of Muharram.

The answer was received: Yes. God has abundantly blessed enterprise and effort. The case stands thus: in Asia such accomplishments derive their lustre from the attention of the authorities; the poets ought to make it useful to the rulers or fit for their delectation. If they do so, then the writers of verses will derive some advantage, and the more the advantage the more will it be famed abroad, and likewise the more will intellect and reflection grow in quality and invent interesting and beautiful productions,—this is called progress.

You have seen that Urdu's literary capital has come through Persian. The ancient writers of Persia derived pleasure from every kind of theme; the later became restricted to the *Ghazal* only, though capable men wrote *Qasidas* also. Urdu-writers too, deeming it an easy task and making popularity their aim, took the themes of beauty and love, etc., and there is no doubt about this that what they did they did well. But those themes became so very hackneyed that the ear has grown tired of hearing them repeatedly. Those matters are all of settled usage; we compose by changing the order of the words, or making a trifling alteration of a letter. They are like morsels which have already been eaten, or rather morsels which have been chewed by other people, and we chew them and are content. Imagine what pleasure there is left in that! Beauty and love are of course very nice, but till how long? Be it *houri* or be it *peri*, one can get too much of a good thing, and that further is now a hundred-year-old wench.

One difficulty too is this that for expressing those ideas our ancestors prepared stores of words, meanings, metaphors and similes, and these have become so current that anyone with but little reflection can compose something or other; but if he wishes to render in verse some other idea, then he does not find any such provision. Of course if qualified, experienced persons desire, they can accomplish it, but the themes of this wretched love and beauty, its features and lineaments, and the words associated with the charm of the rose-garden are familiar on tongue and lips, and if they desire to write aught they must first forget such and then in the appropriate place thereof must produce rare metaphors of similar sort, new similes, unusual constructions, and words of good-taste. And this is a laborious, heart-breaking task. What greater opportunity of retardation can lack of ambition, which has become a despotic ruler over our people, have than this?

Whatever else this chance circumstance has done it has brought about this great mischief that the leaders of the age have stated unanimously that Urdu poetry can express only erotic themes, and has no

capacity or ability to express all kinds of subjects. And this is a great stain which has stuck to the skirt of our national language. I wonder who can wash it out, and how! Ah, this is the task of our young men who in the realm of knowledge are become masters of the strands of both rivers to east and west; their enterprise will irrigate with water taken from both strands, and not only wash out this stain, but fill with pearls the lap of the nation.

Tr. by A. H. HARLEY.



MD. REZA KHAN.

(From a painting in the collection of Nawabzada Saiyid
Hasan Ali, Nadir Jung).

AN ACCOUNT OF MUHAMMAD REZA KHAN.

The founder of the Chitpore Family and the celebrated Naib-Subahdar and Naib-Dewan of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, during the infancy of the British Government in the East.

INTRODUCTION.

Early History of Chitpore.

Chitpore, a northern suburb of the Presidency Town of Calcutta, and situated a little beyond the junction of the Circular Canal with the river at the north-eastern extremity of Calcutta, appears to have been in existence more than three hundred years ago. It was then written 'Chittrupoor' and was noted for the temple of the 'Chittrusuree Dabee' or the Goddess of 'Chittru', generally known as the temple of 'Kalee'. This was the spot where the largest number of human sacrifices¹ were offered to the Goddess in Bengal before the establishment of the British Government in India.

It was to Chitpore² that the first Nawwab Bahadur of Chitpore, His Excellency the Nawwab Muhammad Reza Khan, the celebrated Naib-Subahdar and Naib-Dewan of the Provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa during the last phases of Mughal dominion in Bengal (1765-1772 and 1775-1789), was brought a prisoner with his family, adherents and his Naib, Raja Amrit Singh, and was lodged at his own residence,³ known as Khasbagh Palace,⁴ in 1772, by the peremptory order of the Court of Directors (owing to the intrigues of Nundcomar) on suspicion of having embezzled vast sums of money, but was honourably acquitted and reinstated as the result of enquiry.

Thenceforward he and his son after him resided at Chitpore and were known as 'Chitpore Nawabs',⁵ displaying a profuse hospitality and exercising considerable influence.

¹ The Good Old Days of the Hon'ble John Company, Vol. I, p. 49.

² Secret Proceedings, 28th April 1772, Vol. I, p. 3.

³ The Good Old Days of the Hon'ble John Company, Vol. I, p. 49.

⁴ Appeal to the Privy Council, No. 52/1886, No. 263, on the record, p. 239.

⁵ Lord Curzon's British Government in India, Vol. I, p. 13.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF CHITPORE NAWWAB FAMILY, 1757-1927.

HIS EXCELLENCY THE NAWAB MUZUFFER JUNG BAHADUR.

Died 1791 A. D.

**Nawab Bahram Jung
Bahadur, (6)**
(Pre-deceased his father)

**Nawab Dilawar Jung
Bahadur,**
Died 1821.

**Nawab Musheer Jung
Bahadur,**
(Pre-deceased his father.)

Nawab Soulut Jung Bahadur,
Died 1832.

**Nawab Hissam Jung
Bahadur.**

**Nawab Zuffar Jung
Bahadur,**
Died 1835.

**Nawab Tuhowar Jung
Bahadur,**
Died 1842

**Nawab Diler Jung (7)
Bahadur,**
Died 1896.

Nawabzada Nadir Jung.
(The present head of
the Chitpore Branch of
the Nizamut Family of
Murshidabad)

Origin of the House of Chitpore.

Muhammad Reza Khan, the founder of the Chitpore Family, was of Persian origin and claimed descent from the Alavi Saiyyids of Shiraz. The first of the family who came to Delhi from Shiraz in the early part of the 18th century of the Christian Era, was a physician Hadi Ali Khan 'Alavi,^a with his four sons named (1) Muhammad

^a *Bahramgunge*, a mart in Murshidabad, bears his name.

^r Mr. H. Bell, Under Secretary, Government of Bengal, in a letter dated 5th June, 1862, to the Secretary, Government of India, Foreign Department, says:—

“The Lieutenant-Governor thinks the Memorialist has a fair claim.....to the title of Nawab Bahadur, which has ben enjoyed by his ancestors in several generations.”

^a (1) *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, British Museum, Or. 486 MS., Fol. 890.

Husain Khan 'Alavi, (2) Muhammad 'Ali Khan 'Alavi, (3) Muhammad Reza Khan 'Alavi, and (4) Muhammad Isma'il Khan 'Alavi, Muhammad Reza Khan being then only ten years of age. At that time 'Alavi Khan and 'Ali Naqi Khan, the physicians, were the favourites of Muhammad Shah, the Emperor of Delhi (1719-1748). At the recommendation of 'Alavi Khan, Hadi 'Ali Khan was given a post in Bengal, where he went and settled with all his four sons. His post was made permanent and his pay was fixed at fourteen thousand rupees per year. 'Ali Verdi Khan, the Subahdar of Bengal (1740-1756), highly honoured and respected him during his *nizamatship*. After the death of Hadi 'Ali Khan, his eldest son, Muhammad Husain Khan was given his father's post and he continued in office till the *nizamatship* of Nawab Mubarak-ud-Dawlah, when he died in 1201 of the *Hijra* (1787-88), except for a short time when Mir Qasim gave this post to another physician who cured his son Shams-ud-Dawlah.

Muhammad Reza Khan,⁹ the third son of Hadi 'Ali Khan, was married to the daughter of Haji Ahmed, the elder brother of 'Ali Verdi Khan, the then Subahdar of Bengal.

During the *nizamatship* of Mir Ja'far (1757-60 and 1763-65) he was appointed Governor¹⁰ of Jahangirnagar (modern Dacca).

He was the last Mughal Governor¹¹ of Chittagong apparently who ruled the district from Dacca. When it was ceded to the British in 1761 he personally accompanied Mr. Verelst, the first Chief of Chittagong and made over charge to him on the spot.

Under a succession of Mughal Governors increases were levied to such an extent that in 46 years each rupee of the original *jama'* was increased to Rs. 3-13-10½, and the total *jama'* stood at Rs. 3,31,529-1-15. Muhammad Reza Khan, it was said, had actually

(2) *Siyar-ul-Mutaakhhkharin*, Vol. III, p. 4.

* (1) *Tarikhi-Muzaffari*, Fol. 890f.

(2) *Siy. Mut.*, Vol. II, p. 557.

¹⁰ (1) *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, Fol. 890f.

(2) *Siy. Mut.*, Vol. III, p. 4.

(3) *Wardat-i-Qasmi*, Fol. 123.

(4) Miscellaneous Proceedings, Range 154, Vol. 39A, Proceedings of 12th February, 1773, India Office Records.

¹¹ (1) Chittagong Gazetteers, p. 35.

(2) Sir Henry Cotton's "Revenue History of Chittagong."

(3) Chittagong Collectorate Records:—

(i) Letter dated 8th November, 1760.

(ii) Letter dated 3rd January, 1761.

collected Rs. 3,37,761-1-11 $\frac{3}{4}$. In addition to the *mahl*, or land revenue, there were other collections, and the following is perhaps an approximately correct account of the existing *jama'* of the district at the time when it passed under English administration.¹²

	Rs.	As.	P.
<i>Mahl</i> , Muhammad Reza Khan	... 3,37,761	1	11 $\frac{3}{4}$
Sowah ...	... 43,975	10	1
Mutafarriqat ...	... 2,127	2	0
Izafa-i-ta'alluqat-i-hazareen	... 3,842	4	0
Nawabade ...	... 9,384	4	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Saiar-i-qusbah ...	... 760	7	14 $\frac{1}{2}$
Baze duffah ...	... 36,541	15	11
Rasulnagar ...	... 9,528	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$

This survey of the increase of the land-revenues under Mughal rule evoked from the Council at Calcutta the order dated 24th June, 1761:—

“As Chittagong rents have been continually raised, raise them higher; but consult for the Company's interest and the happiness of the inhabitants.”

He received¹³ all his titles of *Mubariz-ul-Mulk*, *Mu'in-ud-Dawlah*, *Mansur Jung*, *Khan-i-Khanan*, *Bahadur*, from His Majesty Shah 'Alam, Emperor of Delhi (1759-1806), at the particular instigation of Lord Clive and his Council on the part of the Honourable Company. And to this was added the privilege of riding on a *Nalki* (a distinction reserved for Sovereigns only in Hindustan).

He also enjoyed a *Jaagir*¹⁴ in Tirhut, in the Province of Bihar, granted by the Emperor of Delhi, valued at about twenty-five lacs of rupees, which yielded an income of Rs. 1,20,000 annually, in recognition of his eminent services and adherence during the last period of Mughal rule in India.

A *Shuqqa* from Emperor Shah 'Alam to Nawab Muhammad Reza Khan, in acknowledgment of his allegiance and attachment to his Imperial Government, with assurances of his royal favours and further munificent rewards, reads as follows:—

¹² For explanation of the revenue *jaagir*, see Cotton, *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

¹³ (1) “Persian Sanads and Parwanas”, Vol. I-XVII, Bengal Records Office.

(2) *Siy. Mut.*, Vol. III, p. 24.

(3) Secret Select Committee's Proceedings, 28 April, 1772, Vol. I, p. 3.

¹⁴ Governor-General's Minute, dated 11th December, 1792, Fort William.

“ At this time Zeinul Abdeen Cawn hath represented at large before the threshold of our throne, the similitude of Heaven, the high degree of fidelity, allegiance and attachment which you the seal of Nobility entertain towards our Imperial Government. These loyal dispositions demand our confidence and deserve on our part a continual augmentation of the Royal favour. Your representations will be honoured with our highest regard and your good services be rewarded with our munificence. and be assured that we hold you in our remembrance.”¹⁵

He retrenched¹⁶ the immoderate expenses of the *nizamat* from sixty-four lacks to sixteen annually, saving the Government crores of rupees. He divided Bengal, Bihar and Orissa into *Zillas* and handed them over to the Collectors.

The Court of Directors¹⁷ in 1768 expressed their approbation of his eminent services in the interest of the Hon'ble Company during the early establishment of the British rule in the East and allowed him a salary of nine lacs of rupees annually, besides two lacs to Ray Dullab and one lac to Shitab Ray; and in a letter dated February, 1768, they say:—

“ We must in justice to Mahammad Reza Khan, express the high sense we entertain of his abilities and of the indefatigable attention he has shown in the execution of the important trust reposed in him.”¹⁸

Nawwab Muhammad Reza Khan was addressed as ‘His Excellency’. *Vide* the Extract of the proceedings of the Secret Select Committee, Fort William, 28th April, 1772. At the consultation there were present:—The Hon'ble Warren Hastings—President; William Aldersay, Esq.; Thomas Lane, Esq.; Phillip M. Dacres, Esq.; Richard Barwell, Esq.; James Harris, Esq.; Henry Goodwil, Esq.; John Graham, Esq.

¹⁵ Trial of Muhammad Reza Cawn, Vol. II, Ms., Imperial Record Dept. of Gov. of India.

¹⁶ (1) Translation of Tazkirat-ul-A'zam, p. 30-33.

(2) Rev. Long's Selections, Introduction, p. xli.

¹⁷ (1) Hastings' letter to the Directors, 1st September, 1772, Parliamentary Collection, I. O. 9A, p. 295.

(2) Fifth Report, Select Committee, 1782, Appendix No. 4, para. 3.

¹⁸ Fomlin's History of England, Vol. III, p. 504.

" Resolved¹⁹:—The majority of the Board however, considering the rank of His Excellency Mahomed Rezza Cawn, the station he has filled, and the character and consequence he has held in the Empire of Hindostan by the honour and dignity conferred on him by the King at the particular instigation of Lord Clive and his Council on the part of the Hon'ble Company,..... Resolved in consequence that Mr. Graham be appointed to wait upon His Excellency on his arrival at Chitpore;..... He is also to acquaint His Excellency that it is left at his option either to remain at Chitpore or to proceed to *his house in Calcutta.*"

It was the old Government House known as " Buckingham House," according to " *The British Government in India* ", by Lord Curzon, Volume I;—

- (a) Page 12. We have Warren Hastings' statement (16th June, 1779) that it was also so inhabited by his predecessors, and in a Minute dated 9th February, 1775, we have the fuller statement of his occupation. He says:

" On his accession to the Government (*i.e.*, in 1772) he was accommodated in the present Council House, which was entirely occupied for him for a dwelling, and the offices of the Government were then kept in the Old Council House, since fallen to ruin..... At last the Governor-General for the convenience of public business gave up his house, the present Council House, to the offices, and rented for himself the House where he resides belonging to Mahomed Reza Khan."

- (b) Page 13. It was a large building immediately adjoining the Council House on the East, which was leased by the Company from Mohammed Reza Khan at a rent of Rs. 1,000 per month. That this rent was subsequently more than once enhanced we learn from a letter written by Chaplain William Johnson in 1785, in which it is stated that the Governor-General paid Rs. 1,500 per mensem or Rs. 18,000 per annum for the house: and, later, from the defence put forward many years after by Lord Wellesley to the censure passed upon him by the Court of Directors for having bought the ground and

¹⁹ Secret Select Committee's Proceedings, Vol. I, p. 3.

demolished the house upon it, in order to make way for his magnificent creation. From it it appears that in 1798 Mohammed Reza Khan had died, and the owner was his son Nawab Dilawar Jung, and the rent at that time paid for the building by Government Sicca Rs. 1,624 per month, or £2,437 per annum.

- (c) Page 15. It was a very handsome building, provided with many roomy apartments, all furnished in the European style, and hung with damasked silk. It was the property of the little nabob, or minister, Mohommed Reza, who had purchased it of an English Gentleman for Rs. 1,20,000 and always resided in when he was at Calcutta; but as he was not now in the place, the English Government had made use of it.
- (d) Page 18. I think indeed that I have now sufficiently established that the whole of the references, which I have quoted above, relate to the same edifice, which was apparently known in Calcutta as 'Buckingham House', presumably because Buckingham House in London was at that time the Royal residence.

THE INFANCY OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

CORRUPTION IN ENGLISH OFFICERS.

Muhammad Reza Khan as a Naib-Soubah during the last phase of the Mughal Empire.

Lord Clive landed in Calcutta in May, 1765. Mir Ja'far died the previous February. On receiving the news on his passage up the Bay, Clive amused himself with the idea of introducing the new system of government for the Bengal Provinces which he had unfolded to Pitt more than seven years before, of setting up a new Nawwab on the throne of Bengal who should be a cipher only, and having the administration in the hands of native officials; the English were to be the real masters, they were to take over the revenues, defend the three provinces from invasions and insurrections, make war and conclude peace. But the sovereignty of the English was to be hidden from the public eye. They were to rule only in the name of the Soubahdar and under the authority of the Mughal Empire.

Lord Clive had no misgivings as to his new scheme. He knew there were two claimants to the throne, the eldest surviving son of Mir Ja'far, aged eighteen, and a grandson (Miran's son), of six. He

would place the child of six on the throne at Murshidabad and would carry out all his arrangements during his minority, without the possibility of any difficulty or opposition.

On his arrival he found that he had been forestalled and the calamities at the apprehension of which the Court of Directors had been agitated, had passed by, but the Government had arrived at the last stage of confusion; not to mention others, the very Members of Council were not consulting the interests of the Company. The sole object of all the officers was to amass wealth by any means whatever, and to return with all speed to England.

The selection rested actually with the Calcutta Council. These consisted of Mr. Spencer, who had the preceding year succeeded Mr. Vansittart in the presidential chair, Messrs. Johnstone, Senior, Middleton, Leycester, Playdell and Gray. But the minds of these gentlemen were occupied with the thought how to make the best bargain for themselves from the transaction. Their predecessors in the offices they held, had profited largely by the substitution of Mir Ja'far for Siraj-ud-Dawlah, of Mir Qasim for Mir Ja'far, and again Mir Ja'far for Mir Qasim. It was unreasonable, then, to expect that they should forego the opportunity of making an equal profit by the selection of a successor to Mir Ja'far.

The previous year the Court of Directors had strictly ordered that their officers should no longer accept presents in any shape. When the order arrived the Old Nawwab, Mir Ja'far, was on his death bed. The Members of the Council did not enter it on their records. On the contrary they refused to await the arrival of Lord Clive and the members of the Select Committee. They were anxious to make their fortune by installing a new Nawwab. Directly they heard of the death of Mir Ja'far, they sent a deputation of four of their Members, *viz.*, Messrs. Johnstone, Leycester, Senior and Middleton to the City of Murshidabad. Of the two candidates, one of the grandsons of the deceased was six years old, the other, the son, was eighteen. As Mr. Mill finely points out, "the one was of an age to give presents; the other was a minor, whose revenues would have to be counted for."

Naturally, Najm-ud-Dawlah, the eldest surviving son of the deceased Nawwab, entered into a treaty with the Governor, Spencer, and Members of Council of Fort William. It was agreed²⁰ that Najm-

¹ (1) The Life of Lord Clive by Sir George Forrest, Vol. II, p. 262.

(2) Lord Clive by Malleon, p. 361.

(3) Wheeler's Early Record of British India, pp. 329-330.

(4) Mill's History of British India, Vol. III, p. 358.

ud-Dawlah should be the Nawwab of the Bengal Provinces, but Muhammad Reza Khan should exercise all the real powers under the name of *Naib-Soubah*, and the sum to be paid by Najm-ud-Dawlah for the empty right to be called *Soubahdar* should be twenty lacs of rupees; that of this sum,

	Rs.
Governor Spencer, should receive ...	200,000
Mr. Johnstone ...	237,000
Messrs. Playdell, Burdett and Gray one lac each	300,000
Mr. Senior ...	172,500
Mr. Middleton ...	122,500
Mr. Leycester ...	112,500
Mr. Gideon Johnstone ...	50,000
	11,94,500

The balance consisted of over eight lacs to be distributed in a more secret manner.

On the 25th February, the bargain was completed, Najm-ud-Dawlah took his seat on the throne, and Muhammad Reza Khan was appointed as a *Naib-Soubah*.

This conspiracy of corruption was first disclosed at a visit the Nawwab paid to Lord Clive and the gentlemen of the Committee a few days after their arrival. He there delivered to his Lordship a letter filled with bitter complaints of insults and indignities he had been exposed to, and the embezzlement of nearly twenty lacs of rupees issued from the Treasury for purposes unknown during the last negotiations. So public a complaint could not be disregarded and it soon produced an enquiry. They referred the letter to the Board in expectation of obtaining a satisfactory account of the application of this money, and were answered by a warm remonstrance entered by Mr. Leycester against that very Nawwab in whose elevation he boasted of having been a principal agent.

Muhammad Reza Khan, the *Naib-Soubah*, was then called upon to account for the large disbursement from the Treasury, and he soon delivered to the Committee the very extraordinary narrative entered in the proceedings of the 6th of June, 1765, within which he specifies the several names, the sums by whom paid and to whom, whether in bills, cash or obligations.

So precise an account as this of money issued for secret and venal services, was never, it was believed, before this period exhibited

to the Hon'ble Court of Directors, at least never vouched for by such undeniable testimony and authentic documents. By Juggat Seit, who himself was obliged to contribute largely to the sums demanded; by Motiram, who was employed by Mr. Johnstone in all those pecuniary transactions; by the Nawwab and Muhammad Reza Khan, who were the heaviest sufferers; and lastly by the confession of the gentlemen themselves whose names are specified in the distribution list above.

Juggat Seit expressly declares in his narrative, that the sum which he agreed to pay the deputation, amounting to Rs. 1,25,000, was extorted by menaces, and from their enquiry and the opinions they delivered in the proceedings of 21st June, it fully appears that the presents from the Nawwab and Muhammad Reza Khan exceeding the immense sum of seventeen lacs, were not the voluntary offerings of gratitude, but contributions levied on the weakness of the Government, and violently exacted from the dependant state and timid disposition of the Minister.

(To be continued.)

AMIR ALI MIDHAT JANG.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

ARABIA BEFORE MUHAMMAD.—By De Lacy O'Leary, D. D. (*Trubner's Oriental Series*, London, 1927. Price 10/6d.)

It must be stated at the outset that for this book the Muslim community in particular and students of history in general are under a deep debt of obligation to the author. He has made accessible in the comparatively small space of two hundred pages many results of the most recent researches into the history of ancient Arabia and its relations with the adjacent lands. If there is not much originality, there is abundant evidence of astonishing industry in consulting the best literature available and records not easily so. The Bibliography in itself will be an acquisition to students of Semitic history. The text is the first attempt in English to collect in one volume comprehensive data concerning the early history of Arabia.

In his Foreword the author states that it has been his main purpose to "show that Arabia, before the coming of Islam, was not a country secluded from the cultural influences of Western Asia..... The result of the ancient penetration of Arabia and the intercourse of the Arabs with their neighbours was that the religion of Islam, so far from taking its rise among secluded desert tribes, was a natural stage of development in the religious life of West Asia....." His argument has been carefully documented and is well-sustained throughout, and probably no reader will dissent from his statement that "the theory of the segregation of Arabia can be admitted only in a very modified form; the elements there were common to it and the lands outside, and differed mainly in their economic and social setting."

The Arab historians were Muslims and their interest in the Pre-Islamic period was slight, and their knowledge of it extremely meagre. Consequently for the earliest period recourse must be had to other sources; the records of Egypt, Assyria, Byzantium, Persia, Abyssinia and Syria have to be drawn on for the framework, and the inscriptions discovered mostly by Glaser last century in South Arabia and those of the Nabataeans in the north help to make up the structure. Cultural influences entered the land mainly through "the formation of colonies or outposts to cultivate the soil or to exploit mines; the opening up of

regular trade routes across the desert and the formation of alliances with the Arabs through whose territory they passed....., and the formation of marts and settlements of Arabs along the frontier so that the culture learned there filtered back into the desert tribes."

Into this composite of cultural influences largely enters the great trade-route from the South through the Hijaz to the distributing centres in the North, whence South-Arabian incense and goods from India and China found their way to Egypt, Syria, etc. Trade does not bring about isolation, but promotes directly and indirectly an interchange of ideas. Further, foreign powers sought territorial aggrandisement within her borders, and in the South Persia and Abyssinia, the latter prompted by Byzantium, contested for a time supremacy. Such is "far from the conventional picture of the Arabs as semi-savage tribes living in primitive conditions and secluded from the rest of the world until drawn out by the expanding force of Islam. Arabia, so far from being secluded, was the area in which the world powers were pitted against one another and the Arabs cheerfully took their part in the game of political intrigue."

And religion followed trade. Jewish colonists were settled at Medina and in the south; Christianity had its adherents in the buffer-states in the north and north-east, in the highly organised Nejran and other southern territory. Hellenised Christianity as represented by the Greek Church (the Malkites), the Jacobites of Egypt and Syria, and the Nestorians of Mesopotamia, was active round about their land and has left some permanent influence on Arab thought within.

A. H. H.

SHI'R-UL-HIND. By Maulana Abdus Salam Nadavi, Ma'arif Press, Azamgarh, pp. 445.

In this critical survey of Urdu poetry. Maulvi Abdus Salam Nadavi has given a lucid account of its origin and development. It is a welcome departure from the stereotyped *Tazkira* which is a dull dictionary of poets without any illuminating remarks on their lives or works. The only history of Urdu poets that has aimed at making the poets live in its pages is the inimitable *Ab-i-Hayât*. It is a masterpiece, and with all its shortcomings will continue to be read with interest as long as the Urdu language endures. *Shi'r-ul-Hind* is not written on the lines of the *Ab-i-Hayât*. The latter deals more with the poets than

with their works. The former aims at taking stock of the progress of Urdu poetry, tracing how from its original Deccani skeleton it has gradually grown to its present shape, how the Lucknow school came to be created and how it differs from its Delhi counterpart, how the disciples of great poets have faithfully followed the models of their masters and how Urdu poetry has striven to adapt itself to the requirements of changing times.

R. A. W.

KHWAB-O-KHAYAL.—A *masnavi* by Khwaja Muhammad Mir Asar. Anjuman-i-Urdu Press, Aurangabad, Deccan. Cloth-bound, pp. 135.

The Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i Urdu, Hyderabad, under the able guidance of Maulvi Abdul Haq, B.A., has added yet another feather to its cap. The *Sihrl-Bayān* of Mir Hasan and the *Gulzār-i-Nasīm* of Pandit Dayashankar have monopolised the attention of Urdu-speaking people to the exclusion of everything else in that line. Yet here in *Khwab-o-Khayal* we find that the art of the *masnavi* had reached a high standard of excellence before these two *masnavis* were written. A further discovery, and that of a remarkable nature, has been made with regard to the well-known *masnavi Bahār-i-Ishq* of Nawab Mirza Shauq of Lucknow. The latter work has been regarded as a high class production, but now placed side by side with *Khwab-o-Khayal* it appears not only to have been written on its model but discloses many instances of plagiarism! The *Khwab-o-Khayal* not having for its theme a connected story lacks interest and hence it has hitherto remained in comparative obscurity. For having rescued it from the limbo of oblivion Maulvi Abdul Haq has earned the gratitude of lovers of Urdu poetry. The author Khwaja Saiyid Muhammad Mir Asar was a younger brother of the renowned Khwaja Mir Dard of Delhi, a contemporary of Sauda and Mir. His style of poetry closely resembles that of his brother. The language is pure, the phraseology pleasing and the technique perfect. The book has an illuminating introduction from the erudite pen of its editor.

R. A. W.

ISLAMICA.—Ed. by Prof. A. Fischer, Leipzig.

Dr. Braunlich has just completed the second volume of *Islamica*. It would be idle to praise a journal such as *Islamica* for it represents

MUSLIM REVIEW.

the highest culture of the civilized world. Dr. Fischer and Dr. Braunlich hold a position of unique importance. They are pioneers in their own sphere of learning and have done work of an enduring character. To make *Islamica* popular in England, France and Germany the Editor has taken special pains to get articles in the languages of these countries. The most interesting article is the article on the Love of Books in the Islamic societies. The author of this amazingly learned paper has ransacked the entire field of Islamic literature for facts. We recommend it to all who are interested in the history of Islamic learning under the Caliphate. Every article is excellent and it is impossible to carry on Islamic studies without having *Islamica* by your side. It is a pity that a journal of such first-rate importance should be so little known in our country. Dr. Braunlich is one of the benefactors of Islam and to him we take off our hat in all reverence and humility.

S. K. B.

THE AHMADIYYA MOVEMENT.—By F. K. Khon Durrani, Muslim Missionary, Berlin. (Published by Ahmadiyya Anjuman-i-Isha'at-i-Islam, Lahore, India, 1927).

The booklet contains an English version of papers which the author contributed to the *Moslemische Revue*, Berlin. The writer, who is an Ahmadi himself, has given a very readable account of the life, work and teachings of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, the founder of the Ahmadiyya Movement, and has also endeavoured to refute certain charges levelled against the founder and the followers of the Sect.

REASON OR PREJUDICE.—By S. Qudrat Shah (c/o The Muslim, Singapore). 50 Cents.

This pamphlet contains a number of small articles on a variety of subjects. They form a rejoinder to a "Mulla publication" which had adversely criticised Mr. Shah's pamphlet entitled "The Death of Jesus", and had, according to him, given a wrong interpretation of the word 'Jihad', etc. The writer, who belongs to the Ahmadiyya Sect, appears to be a bit too harsh towards his Mulla critics, whom he calls "fanatics" and "the most deadly enemies of Islam," etc.

ISLAMIC CULTURE (Quarterly), Published January, April, July, and October—Civil Service House, Hyderabad, Deccan; Annual Subscription, Rs. 10, Foreign £1 1s.

The Government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad are to be congratulated on their bringing out a high-class Quarterly, the *Islamic Culture*. They have succeeded in securing the services of a well-known journalist, Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall, who is a devoted student of Islamic History and Culture; and, we are sure, that under his able guidance the Review will rise to a very high level of literary excellence. The object which the Board of Direction have in view in launching the new Quarterly is, in the words of the editor, "to uplift the standard of Islamic Culture at its best, and to provide a rallying-point for learned Orientalists and students of Islam in every land". And we are glad to find that the first, and the subsequent numbers, amply justify the hope.

The first number opens with a thoughtful article from the pen of Rt. Hon. Mr. Ameer Ali on the *Modernity of Islam*. He is of opinion that Islam "still holds aloft the lamp to the road which leads humanity to spiritual vitality", and that the Muslim faith "needs only a revival of the Spirit which inspired the Prophet".

Next, Felix Valyi contributes an interesting paper on "The Spirit of Asia and Asiatic History", followed by F. Krenkow—a recognised authority on Islam—whose paper on "The Unity of Islam", though brief, is, nevertheless, illuminating. Dr. Josef Horovitz's paper on "The Origin of the Arabian Nights" is original and scholarly. Professor Shafi, with his usual accuracy, contributes a valuable paper on "The Shalimar Gardens of Lahore". He is followed by Professor Hidayat Husain who publishes the famous "Mantle-Poem" of *Ka'b bin Zuhair*, with an English Translation and Notes. Mawlānā Sayyid Sulaiman, a well-known authority on Islamic History, discusses the influence of the Greek Schools of Philosophy on Muslim thought and endeavours to show that "the research of the Muslims was not simply yoked to Aristotle's Chariot, but that they had paused at his fountain merely to quench their thirst on the way to the ultimate goal of Truth." There are other papers also from the pen of Mr. Abdullah Yusuf 'Ali, Professor Rushbrook Williams and Mawlānā Mahmud Hasan Khan, which are quite interesting. Two of Mr. Pickthall's lectures—one on Muslim Education and the other on Islamic Culture—have also been published in the Review and can be read with profit by all those who wish to know more of Islam.

Islamic Culture has succeeded in bringing together some of the best writers on Islam. Its outlook is broad and the range of its studies wide. The printing and get-up leave little to be desired; and we commend the journal to all who are interested in Islam—its History, Culture and Civilisation.

M. M. H.

Acknowledgments.

1. East-West, New York.
 2. Orient and Occident, Cairo, Egypt.
 3. The Islamic Review, Woking, England.
 4. The Muslim, Singapore.
 5. The Indian Views, Durban.
 6. The Moslem World, New York.
 7. The Indian Review, Madras.
 8. The Calcutta Review, Calcutta.
 9. The Hindusthan Review, Calcutta.
 10. The Journal of Indian History, Madras.
 11. Al-Hilal (Urdu), Calcutta.
 12. The Muslim Review, Lucknow.
 13. The Indian Dental Journal, Calcutta.
 14. The Urdū, Aurangabad, Deccan.
 15. The Shama', Agra.
 16. The Patna Times, Patna.
 17. The Ittihād (Urdu), Bihar.
 18. The Humāyun (Urdu), Lahore.
 19. The Saughat (Bengali), Calcutta.
 20. The Sahityak (Bengali), Calcutta.
 21. The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad (Bengali), Calcutta.
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 25. Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London.
 26. The Minaret, London.
 27. Bengal Past and Present, Calcutta.
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The Annual General Meeting of the Institute was held on 4th September, 1927, at which the annual report of the session 1926-27 was presented and passed. The Annual General Election of the Members of the Executive Committee also took place.

The following eight members were elected as representatives to the Executive Committee:—

A.—By Associate Members:—

1. Mr. Md. Fazlullah, B.L.
2. Mr. Amirul Islam, M.A.
3. Mr. A. M. Jalaluddin Ahmad, B.A.
4. Mr. M. M. Begg.

B.—By Ordinary Members:—

1. Mr. Khalilur Rahman.
2. Mr. A. Rasul.
3. Mr. Sultanul Islam.
4. Mr. A. B. Z. Hasan.

C.—The following Members were nominated by the President:—

1. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, Esqr., M.A., F.R.S.L.
2. Khan Bahadur Moulvi Mahammad Mahmood, M.A.
3. Khan Bahadur Moulvi Mahammad Yusuf, M.A.
4. Mr. M. Mahfuzul Haq, M.A.

The prizes of the Billiard Tournament and other indoor games were also distributed.

The present Committee came into office on 8th September, 1927.

The Institute, which was founded in 1902, has completed the 25th year of its existence and the Committee have accordingly decided to celebrate the Silver Jubilee in the next cold weather. A representative Committee has been formed to make necessary arrangements for the same, and the programme will include a literary exhibition, a *Mushayera*, a Dinner and a Social gathering, etc. We hope that this function will be of unique importance in the history of the Institute and will strengthen the bond of unity between the Old and the New Members.

It has been felt that the Rules and Regulations of the Institute require some modification.

The Executive Committee has, therefore, appointed a Sub-Committee to report as to the lines on which the Rules and Regulations of the Institute should be revised. The Executive Committee, after due consideration, will place the revised Rules before the members at a General Meeting for their final approval, as required in the existing Rules.

Extraordinary meetings, which serve a particularly useful purpose among our literary activities, were convened from time to time. The lectures delivered by eminent scholars and distinguished educationists were highly appreciated as was evident from the large number of members present on each occasion. We take this opportunity of thanking the speakers and presidents but for whose keen interest and unselfish endeavours the meetings would not have been so successful.

The following is the list of the Subjects, Speakers and Presidents:—

<i>Subjects.</i>	<i>Speakers.</i>	<i>Presidents.</i>
1. How Islam turns savages into civilized men.	Prof. Abdur Rahim Naiyyar.	A. H. Harley, Esq., M.A., I.E.S.
2. Islam and the Rising Generation.	Mr. Md. Yaqub Khan	Moulvi Abdul Karim, B.A., M.L.C.
3. Unemployment and Rural Reconstruction.	Mr. Fazlur Rahman, M.A., B.Sc., F.R.E.S. (Lond.).	A. H. Harley, Esq., M.A., I.E.S.
4. Islam and its Necessities	Mr. I'jaz Husain ...	Khan Bahadur Md. Yusuf, M.A.
5. Impressions of Hejaz and some other Islamic countries.	Mr. Waliul Islam ...	Shamsul Ulama Mr. Kamal-uddin Ahmad, B.A. (Cantab), M.A. (Cal.).

The Annual *Milad Shariff*, in which is commemorated with due solemnity the birth-day of our Prophet "MOHAMMAD" (on whom be peace!) was celebrated on the 27th September, 1927.

The Institute was becomingly decorated in the best Oriental Style. The Hall was filled with members and the sermon delivered on the occasion by Mowlānā Abdur Razzaque Malīhābādi was highly appreciated. We are indebted to our Nazim for his able management of the function.

KHALILUR RAHMAN.

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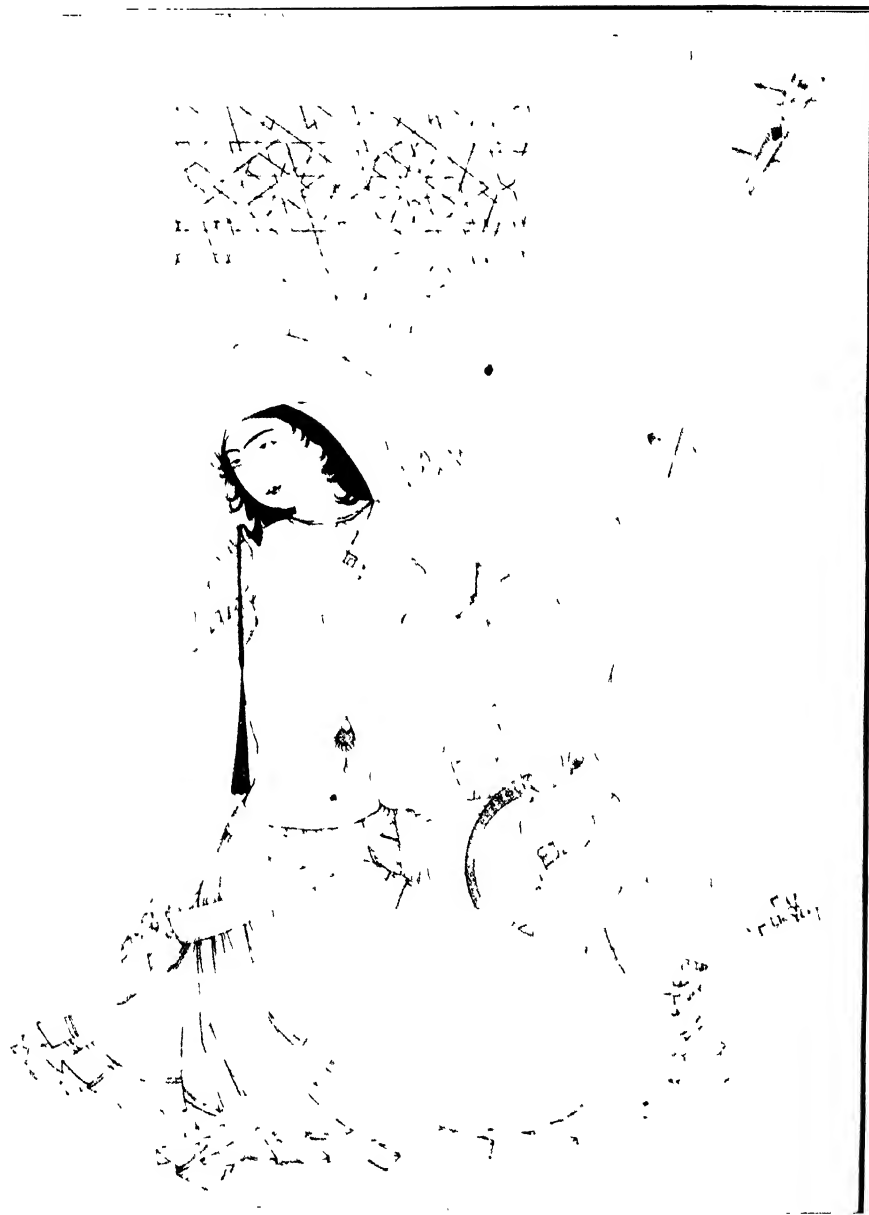
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THE MINSTREL.

By the Indian Bihzad M. A. Rahman Chughtai.

FRONTISPIECE.

Our frontispiece is from the clever and charming brush of M. A. Rahman Chughtai, who needs no introduction because he has acquired by his work an international reputation, being the foremost exponent of the new artistic renaissance of the East. He is most fascinating in style, and shows always intellectual simplicity. His picture in this issue shows a characteristic classical study of "Line Drawing," a most successful composition and full of meaning. He inspires in art-lovers interest in and affection for the work of the great old Persian masters. The words of Dr. Cousins of Madras may be quoted here appropriately: "Mr. Chughtai's work has come into favour through its beautiful decorative quality, and the grace of its line. He puts into every picture a feeling of rythmical motion, like the poetry of colour and form. He is the nearest of the modern school to the Persian spirit." As usual, a reproduction is incapable of showing the excellence of his brush and the merits of the original. We are glad to be able to state that a splendid work, in which he has illustrated the poetry of Ghalib,—a poet of the decay of the Great Mughals, is being reproduced in Europe. An Edition de Luxe is very shortly expected to be in the hands of the public; it has cost him an enormous sum to have it published. Mr. Chughtai deserves our warm support and admiration for his artistic magnificent attempt.

PROBLEMS OF THE STUDY OF GHALIB.¹

Section I.

BIOGRAPHY.

The study of a poet may be confined to his works or it may include his biography also. As the biographical background may probably be found useful even in the exclusive consideration of his works, we should therefore think it desirable, especially in the case of our poet, that the student should not only attempt to build up his biography but relate its details, wherever necessary or possible, to his poetical works.

There is however this to be borne in mind that the biography of a poet will naturally need different treatment from the biography of a politician for instance, or a statesman. It will certainly interest us to know when the poet was born, to whom he was born, how he spent his youth, adolescence, manhood, and so on, and what events happened to him at different stages in his life. Such details are always necessary for writing a systematic biography of anybody. But in the case of a poet we shall be interested to know something more,—the meaning of the several details, and how and in what way each affected the growth or development of his mind.

What material is there at hand which we may employ in writing a systematic account of Ghalib's life? Of the relative sources made available so far,² only the *Yadgar-i-Ghalib* of Hali, and a short biographical sketch in the *Ab-i-Hayat* of Muhammad Husayn Azad seem to be deserving of consideration. The rest, which exist in the form of brief biographical notes attached to several of the editions of the poet's Urdu Diwan, are not of material help to us, as they are more or less based on Hali and Azad. The absolute sources³ are always of primary importance; but not every one of such sources will be helpful to us. His letters both in Urdu and Persian, his Masnawi written during his imprisonment, and his *Dastanbu*, which is a sort of autobiography dealing with the events of his life in the years 1857-1858, are the absolute sources the student will have to consult ultimately for

¹ This forms Chapter IV of Dr. S. A. Latif's Monograph on Ghalib which is now in the press.

² *Approach to Ghalib*, Chap. II.

³ *Ibid.*, Chap. II.

the determination of the biographical details of Ghalib's life. Of these, his letters in Urdu will be found to be most helpful, as they not only record some of the events which happened to him during the period covered by 1850-1869, but contain here and there recollections of his life prior to 1850.

The sources available, whether relative or absolute, may not furnish all that one may care to know about the life of Ghalib. They are, however, there for the use of the student. He can draw with their help at least a rough sketch of the poet's life, true in its salient features, though not complete and comprehensive in its details. The rough sketch that he may draw will need to be touched and retouched as fresh material comes to light.

In handling the biographical material that is available the student should remember the caution that we gave him in an earlier chapter,⁴ viz., that he should not take anything simply on trust whoever the narrator, whether Ghalib or Hali or Azad. The caution is repeated here not because they deliberately mislead their readers, but because they do not seem to have taken sufficient pains to be accurate in their statements. Take one biographical detail for illustration. Ghalib states that he began to write ghazals in Urdu at the age of 15 or about 1811, and that for the first few years he assumed 'Asad' as his *Takhallus* or pen name.⁵ But this statement is not borne out by his Urdu Diwan.

Take even the very final group of his poems belonging to his maturer years, viz., 1844-1855, and you will not fail to find several Ghazals bearing the pen-name of 'Asad', as for example those ending⁶:—

(۱) چھوڑی آسد نہ ہم نے گدائی میں دل لگی

سائل ہوئے تو عاشق اہل کرم ہوئے

(۲) دیکھا آسد کو خلوت و جلوت میں بارہا

دیوانہ گر نہیں ہے تو ہشیار بھی نہیں

(۳) ہمارے شعر ہیں اب صرف دل لگی کے آسد

کہلا کہ فائدہ عرض ہنر میں خاک نہیں

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Consolidated *Urdu-i-Mu'alla*, Lahore, 1826, p. 275.

⁶ *Approach to Ghalib*, Chap. III, Chronological Arrangement.

Muhammad Husayn Azad is similarly at times not very accurate in what he records. On page 500 of his *Ab-i-Hayat*⁷ he states that the poet chose 'Ghalib' as his pen-name in 1245 A.H. or 1828 A.D. This statement also cannot be supported by the Urdu Diwan of Ghalib. Besides Azad does not state on what authority he fixed the year 1828 as the date of the adoption of the new *Takhallus*.

Hali is also not a safe guide in the determination of biographical details, as already shown in Chapter I. His main interest in Ghalib is not in the facts of Ghalib's life—they are arranged helter-skelter. His interest seems to be to impress on his readers the greatness of Ghalib as an amiable personality and as a poet. In his eagerness to create this effect, he forgets that he occasionally indulges in contradictions. Take the case of Mulla Abdus Samad for a second time. Examine:

”مرزا کی چودہ برس کی عمر تھی جب عبد الصمد اُن کے
مکان پر وارد ہوا ہے اور کل دو برس اس نے وہاں قیام کیا۔ پس
جب یہ خیال کیا جاتا ہے کہ مرزا کو کس عمر میں اس کی
صحبت میسر آئی اور کس قدر قلیل مدت اس کی صحبت میں
گزری تو عبد الصمد اور اس کی تعلیم کا عدم وجود برابر ہو جاتا ہے
اس لئے مرزا کا یہ کہنا کچھ غلط نہیں ہے کہ مجھ کو مبداء فیاض کے
سوا کسی سے تلمذ نہیں ہے اور عبد الصمد محض ایک فرضی نام
ہے“⁸

with

”مرزا کے ابتدائی اشعار دیکھنے سے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ کچھ تو
طبیعت کی مذاہبت سے اور زیادہ تر ملا عبد الصمد کی تعلیم کے
سبب فارسیت کا رنگ ابتدا ہی میں مرزا کے بول چال اور اور کی
قوت مدخلہ پر چڑ گیا تھا۔“⁹

It is therefore clear that the student anxious to determine and arrange the authentic biographical material will have to be always

⁷ Lahore, 1917.

⁸Page 14, *Yadgar-i-Ghalib* : Second Edition, Faiz-i-'Am Press, Aligarh.

⁹Page 99, *Ibid*.

on his guard. He should take the statements of Hali and Azad for what they are worth, and compare them with the facts as narrated by the poet in his works, and judge for himself, after making of course full allowance for the defects of admiration on the one hand, and the claims of poetic license and natural personal vanity on the other.

Section II.

POETRY.

What are the problems of the study of Ghalib's poetry? The question will necessarily argue: What are the problems which usually concern all poetry? This again will lead to: What is poetry? And how is one to determine what that is?

There are, one may say, theories and definitions of poetry always available for our guidance. But then, they are so numerous and so bewildering. Some mistake the poetic faculty for the poetic art; some hardly distinguish poetry from art in general; some limit themselves to the nature of poetry; some to its aim and so forth. What aid can any particular theorist give us in the solution of our question, *viz.*, what problems does the poetry of Ghalib suggest for our consideration? Should they be: Does the poetry of Ghalib "expatiate in the inner space and in the inner time of the ideas and feelings?" (Hegel): Is it a "Musical thought?" (Carlyle); Is it "Synonymous with the language of ideality?" (Rowland Hazard); Is it "a learning so universal that no learned nation doth despise it, nor a barbarous nation is without it?" (Philip Sidney); "Does it express the glow of emotion, and the thrill of joy?" (P. Shairp); Is it "Something Divine," "the centre and circumference of knowledge," "the record of the best and happiest moments of the happiest and best minds?" (Shelley); Is it the "breath, the finer spirit of all knowledge—the impassioned expression—in the countenance of all science," and does it "produce excitement in co-existence with an over-balance of pleasure?" (Wordsworth). Is it the "presentment in musical form to the imagination of noble grounds for the noble emotions" (Ruskin); Is it "itself a thing of God?" (Bailey); and Is it "a composition in verse" (Whately)—and so on, to confine the questionnaire to the critics of modern times only.

The student will not have failed to notice that a large majority of these definitions are but vague evaluations. They do not show him the way to visualise for himself a picture of Ghalib's poetry. He had better therefore not entangle himself in the labyrinth of theories and

definitions. Let him instead put to himself a few simple questions and see how they work.

We talk of the poem of this or that poet. What do we mean by that? What does it signify to us? A poem, few will deny, is an instrument by which the poet endeavours to communicate to others what he himself has experienced in his mind. It embodies his inward experience in a manner at once helpful in the equal possession of it by others. Let us see what stages this effort of the poet reveals? We have just stated that a poem is an instrument of communication. And what does this instrument consist of? It consists of words which we call *poetic diction*, and consists of a method of arranging these words in such order and with such artifice that they cumulatively produce a sense of finality or unity or harmony in the mind of the reader or the hearer. The method is what is designated as *poetic technique*. The result of the process is what is called the *form* of the poem. What does this form try to convey except what the poet has intended to, *viz.*, his poetic experience?

And how does this poetic experience come about? Something goes home to the poet's mind. It may be an incident in his own life, or in that of others; it may be a thought or suggestion, or recollection. This may be called the 'matter' of the poet. The matter goes home to the poet's mind and is charged with what it excites there or rouses under the stress of his imagination,—moods, feelings, interpretations. In other words, it is rooted in the spirit of his mind, and is so fused with it that it becomes a single and unanalysable complex which we may call, in the language of literary criticism, 'Inspiration.' This inspiration may happen to anybody, but so long as it is not resolved into some definite shape or, to use another technical term, 'conceived' into a harmonious form, the inward process is incomplete. Even when the process is complete, we cannot say we have got poetry.

For conception alone is not poetry. Do not we, at least some of us, let something almost every day go home to our minds and generate inspiration therein? And does not such inspiration at times assume a form, self-contained and harmonious? But is that poetry? Are we then poets? We will be certainly poets, if only we can communicate what we have conceived to others with all that it signifies. But we do not, rather cannot. A poet does, and does so by means of language. The finished poem is the reflexion of his inward conception. The greater the resemblance of the form of the poem to the inward conception, the greater the art, and the greater the poet as an artist.

To repeat,—a poem begins with a poetic excitement or what we may call the initial impulse. The impulse may be due to anything. This impulse affects the mind of the poet and is rooted in his own spirit, and by rousing in him moods and associations creates a special significance for him, which significance speedily or gradually assumes a form and is transmitted to the world at large by means of language resolved into a poem.

Let us note down progressively the several stages in this process so as to determine what questions will be pertinent to the discussion of Ghalib's poetry.

In pursuing this process in the Urdu Poetry of Ghalib, the student will have to take into consideration one or two salient peculiarities of Ghazal-writing.

In the first place, a Ghazal is not a poem. It has no unity, no harmony in its interrelated parts, and consequently no organic form of its own. A Ghazal is a string of independent distichs, or line-poems. Occasionally a particular sense may run into more than a distich. But usually each distich stands by itself. The only connection between one distich and another is the sound of the last word or words, or a common rhyme, which can at best have a musical value.

A Ghazal-writer thus works on a most limited canvas, just a a distich. A flash, a clever and dexterous combination of a few words may cover all the intricacies of his art, the art of Ghazal-writing. Not so the craftsmanship in a 'Masnawi,' a 'Qasida,' a 'Musaddas,' a 'Tarji-Band' a 'Qata,' or 'Marsia.' There, the canvas is larger in each case, the emotion and imagination more sustained. Greater art is demanded of the poet in these forms of poetry. Probably that was why Ghalib felt once that the best of him was in his Qasidas, by which he must have meant the best of his art, as the best of his poetry is admittedly in his Ghazals.

Another peculiarity of Ghazal-writing, a peculiarity which clogs the free expression of a feeling, however genuine, is the traditional adherence to certain prescribed metres, and to a code of conventional symbols and figures of speech—metres and symbols borrowed of Persian, and through Persian of Arabic.¹⁰ At the present day it may be easy enough to discard or violate the convention. But in the time of Ghalib it was not so easy, even for one like him who would if possible have run off at a tangent to the traditional attitude.

¹⁰ *Influence of English Literature on Urdu Literature*, 1924, p. 25.

Hence we find in Ghalib a tacit adherence to convention on the one hand though sparsely, and a conscious but a subdued attempt to run away from it and find out a path of his own, on the other. The latter aspect of his work will suggest that he could not rise superior to the limitations of the prescribed metre, though at times he could to those of the prescribed diction.

What lines of Ghalib bear the conventional touch will not be difficult to specify. But as conventional phraseology or diction may most suitably clothe at times a genuine feeling, the specification of the conventional lines may very often be a conjecture, as it would be equally a conjecture to denominate the rest as expressions of real poetic experience felt or enjoyed by the poet. Still it will not be difficult to mark out at least some lines which from their internal character or from their relation to certain details of the poet's biography bear the stamp of genuineness.

Mr. Lascelles Abercrombie, the poet and critic, in his admirable, thought-provoking treatise on the Theory of Poetry¹¹ suggests that "a poet's inspiration is not bound up with those secrets of a man's life which his biography hopes to elucidate, with no hopes of success." This may probably be true of the epical or dramatic form of poetry, and even of the conventional lyric.¹² It cannot wholly be true of the purely subjective. Does not *Rugby Chapel*, in spite of its universal appeal, lay bare the biographical background or take its colour from it? Milton's sonnet on his blindness would not have been the sonnet that it is, so touching and full of pathos, had not the universal been idealised in his own personal affliction and in all that it signified to him. The same might be said of *Lycidas*, *Scholar Gipsy*, *Thyrsis*, *In Memoriam*, *Ulysses*, and similar productions. If the poetic utterance is not to be related to the poet's biography whenever possible, then we shall lose one of the powerful aids to the determination of those lines of Ghalib which were the result of real emotion. Who can deny that the lines such as those written on the death of his adopted son Arif,

(۱) لازم تھا کہ دینہو میرا رستہ کوئی دن اور

تہا گئے کیوں اب رہو تہا کوئی دن اور

(۲) مٹ جایگا سر گر ترا پتہ نہ گھسیکا

ہوں در پہ ترے نامیہ فرسا کوئی دن اور

¹¹ Martin Secker, London, 1924.

¹² *Approach to Ghalib*, Chap. VI also.

- (۳) آے ہو کل اور آج ہی کہتے ہو کہ جاؤں
 مانا کہ نہیں آج سے اچھا کوئی دن اور
 (۴) جاتے ہو کہتے ہو قیامت کو ملیں گے
 کیا خوب - قیامت کا ہے گویا کوئی دن اور
 (۵) ہاں - اے فلک پیسرجواں تھا ابھی عارف
 کیا تیرا بگڑتا جو نہ مرتا کوئی دن اور
 (۶) تم ماہ شہب چاند ہم تھے مہرے گھر کے
 پھر کیوں ذرہا گھر کا وہ نقشہ کوئی دن اور
 (۷) تم کون سے تھے ایسے کہہ دے داد و سند کے
 کرتا ملک الموت تقاضا کوئی دن اور
 (۸) مجھ سے تمہیں ذفرت سہی نیر سے لڑائی
 بچوں کا بھی دیکھا نہ تماشا کوئی دن اور
 (۹) گزری نہ بہر حال یہ مدت خوش و ناخوش
 کرنا تھا جوانمہر گمزارا کوئی دن اور
 (۱۰) نادان ہو - جو کہتے ہو کہ کیوں جیتے ہو غالب
 قسمت میں ہے - رنے کی تمنا کوئی دن اور

or his lines such as the following:—

- (۱) بسکہ نعال ما پرید ہے آج ہر سلحشور انگستیں کا
 (۲) گھر سے بازار میں نکلتے ہوئے زہرہ ہوتا ہے آب انساں کا
 (۳) چوک جس کو کہیں و مقتل ہے گھر بنا ہے نمونہ زنداں کا
 (۴) شہر دہلی کا ذرہ ذرہ خاک تشنہ خوں ہے ہر مسلمان کا
 (۵) کوئی واں سے نہ آسے یل نک آدمی واں نہ جاسے یل کا
 (۶) میں نے مانا کہ مل گئے پھر کیا وہی روناتن و دل و جاں کا

(۷) گاد جل کر کیا کیسے شک-وہ سوزش داغہاے پنہاں کا

(۸) گادہ روکر کہا کئے دہم ماجرا دیدہ ہاے گریباں کا

(۹) اس طرح کے رمال سے یارب کیا مئے دل سے داغ ہجراں کا

written in the year of the Mutiny, however universal in their application and appeal, have no biographical significance? Their very personal character lends strength to their universal appeal.

Let us revert to the poetry of Ghalib and see what questions seem pertinent to a discussion of it.

I.—INITIAL IMPULSE.

What was the world from which Ghalib extracted themes for his poetry? Some must have belonged to the circle of convention, some to himself. Can the student distinguish and analyse? What initial impulses did they supply in each case?

II.—INSPIRATION.

How did his themes react on his mind? Does the reaction in each instance relate itself to any harmonizing central activity in his mind,—in other words: What significance do the several themes assume eventually in the poet's mind, and does that significance in each case bear the touch of the poet's own intellectual and emotional attitude towards life?

III.—CONCEPTION.

What shape, or *form* or conception did each significance finally resolve itself into in the poet's mind under the stress of that attitude of his towards life?

IV.—DICTION.

What language or diction did the poet choose to clothe his conceptions in while transmitting them to others? How far did he employ the conventional machinery; and how far did he deviate from it?

V.—TECHNIQUE AND FORM.

What devices did he employ to introduce harmony into the diction and give it a form? Can his obligations be traced? Why did particular *radifs* and particular forms appeal to him during the different periods of his poetic production, or why were certain *radifs* never

handled by him at all? And why in one and the same Ghazal, or in one and the same form of expression do lines of great excellence and of poor quality exist side by side?

It must be fairly clear by now that in estimating the worth of a Ghazal-writer such as Ghalib, we should not only look to the poetic process in each distich or line-poems but to the value of the entire production of such distichs considered cumulatively. And cumulative consideration of subjective poetry means buildings upon the poet's own outlook on life. Proper judgment in such cases is therefore possible only when the specification of that outlook is made.

SAIYID ABDUL LATIF.

ISLAMIC AND SANSKRIT LITERATURE.

Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit are the three great classical literatures of the East. But it is a pity that up till now no attempts have been made to compare the tendencies of these great literatures as regards their themes and ideas, their fancies and creations, their realism and transcendentalism, their attitude towards man and nature, and their modes of expression and types. The object of this little article is to suggest that there can be much fruitful study in this direction. In spite of divergencies there is a great similarity between all oriental people in their ways of thinking. The literature of a country represents the diverse ways in which its intellectual life has tended to blossom forth. Each people is brought up in its peculiar natural environments, needs and necessities of life, its political history and social atmosphere. It has its own likes and dislikes, ambition and pride, notions of value in religion and morality, love and hope, secular and spiritual ideals and specific forms of mental enlightenment, social, economical and moral conditions of its poets and other classes of people with whom they are related. The climatic conditions of sunshine, heat and cold, variety of seasons and the wealth of nature and flowers, trees, animals and birds exert no little influence on the development of the literature of a country. In fact, literature is a concrete verbal expression of the civilisation and the mental culture of a people, and all that influences the growth and development of a people's mind leaves its stamp on their literature. Most oriental people have great affinities in their external environments, natural, social, political and economical. Their religious ideals and spiritual aspirations are as similar as their secular emotions of love and hate in their keenness and exuberance. This naturally leads one to expect that a comparative study of their literature will show many points of similarity, though they have points of divergence too. The difference of language is itself the cause of many diverse modes of expression, metre and forms of thought. So also the different natural environment and political and religious conditions of Persia and India have left their distinctive marks on the literatures of these countries. I have no intention to enter here into any elaborate comparison. I shall only draw the attention of my readers to one or two points of interest and express a hope that the labour of other

scholars will be directed to this fruitful subject of research, which has not only a literary value but which also explains in a large measure the distinctive characteristics of the culture and civilisation of these great races.

Persian poetry may be divided into five main types, *viz.*, (i) the *Qasida* or "purpose-poems," which are most often panegyrics but may also be satirical, didactic, philosophical or religious; (ii) the *Ghazal*, of which the subject is generally love, human or divine; (iii) the *Qita* or "fragment" which is either a piece detached from a *Qasida* or is itself a complete poem; (iv) the *Rubai* or "quatrain;" (v) the *Mathnawi*, which are generally poems longer than *qasidas*, such as epics, romances and expositions on moral or mystical philosophy. The drama is almost entirely absent in early Persian poetry; it is only in modern times that dramas are being written in Persian. The original Aryan Persians exhibited no taste for drama in their literature, but in course of development the *Teazies* (lamentations or complaints) and *Temacha* (comedies or farces), also called *Teglid* (disguising), performed by wandering minstrels or by joculars may be noted as having some similarity with dramas. In Persian *teazies* (lamentations) the subject is taken generally from religious history, and they relate stories of martyrdom of the house of Ali. These performances take place generally in the first ten days of the month of Moharram, and the death of the Prophet, his daughter Fatemah and his son-in-law Ali is commemorated. The central theme is the martyrdom of Hasan and Husain, the innocent sons of Ali. With the establishment in Persia in the 16th century of the Safawid dynasty of the Shiahs these performances attained a great theological value.

The plays are generally performed by Isphanis in courtyards, mosques, palaces, etc., and in temporary structures in country places. But even after the end of the 18th century the *teazies* were only songs or elegies in honour of the martyrs, of which 52 have been written down by Alexander Chodzko and Sir Lewis Pelly, and of these 32 have been published in translations. It is usual to have the performances opened by a semi-priestly person who excites the audience by pathetic narrations of the legends of the great martyrs. It is also sometimes prefaced by such tales as that of Amir Timur's lamenting the death of Husain. The *teazy* reaches its climax in Husain's prayer to be granted the key of the treasury of intercession on the day of judgment, and it ends with the fulfilment of such prayer opening up the vistas of Paradise to those who helped him. It may thus be seen that such performances extending over a period of more than

10 days are unusually long, and embody the long-lived resentment of great religious races towards foreign invasions. The *temachas* are farcical plays, including buffoonery and sometimes puppet-plays. In very recent times, however, comedies are being written, such as the *Pleaders of the Court*, *Monsieur Jourdon* and *Muslalis*. In old Arabic poetry when court-poetry had not begun, the *qasidas* generally describe old camping grounds before the poet calls on his companion to stop and mourns the fate of those who have left for other places; he tells of his love and how he suffered from it, and how he journeyed through the desert abounding in wild animals until his camel grew weary; then he begins the chief theme of the poetry,—it consisted in the praise of some man of influence or wealth from whom the poet hoped to gain some reward. In addition to this the Arabic poetry contained a new type of literature such as the letters of Abu Bakr ul Khwarizmi or sermons of Ibn Nubata written in rhymed prose. Many other great writers wrote in rhymed prose which contained descriptions of orations, and of the ways in which rivals were put to shame by the opponents. Numbers of stories were borrowed largely from Indian stories, and modified translations of foreign literature on various subjects (Indian or Greek) also formed an important part, but in History and in Biography Arabs attained great excellence. Thatcher describes three types of Arabian historiography; in the first type "each event is related in the words of eye-witnesses or contemporaries transmitted to the final narrator through a chain of intermediate reporters (*Rāwis*), each of whom passed on the original report to his successor. Often the same account is given in two or more slightly divergent forms which have come down through different chains of reporters. Often too one event or one important detail is told in several ways on the basis of the several contemporary statements transmitted to the final narrator through distinct lines of narration." The historian discusses the value or authenticity of his authorities and gives his opinion regarding the special reliability of those whom he prefers. In the second type of historiography, the historian collects different traditions about an event into one continuous story, prefacing it with an account of his stories, and in the third type, the old method of collecting various traditions is replaced by a continuous story with occasional recitations from particular authorities, and the writer always takes great care to closely follow the exact description of the older authorities, who often lived at the time when the event described had occurred. The Arabic literature is not, however, limited to this, but extended also to the writing of geographical books, such as the *Book of Roads and Provinces* by Khor-dadbeh, or Yaqubi's *Book of Countries* in the 9th century, or Hamdani's

great geography of Arabia in the 10th century. Grammar and Lexicography are the other two subjects in which the Arabs showed great proficiency. In scientific literature the Arabs composed many important works on Astronomy, Chemistry and Medicine. It is well known that many of the scientific works of Greece and India, including Medicine and Astronomy, were translated into Arabic. The study of Mathematics learnt from Greece and India was developed by Arabian writers, who in turn became the teachers of Europe in the 15th century. The Arabs have also an extensive literature on Philosophy (which was largely by way of being translations of and commentaries on Plato and Aristotle), Ethics, and Religion, as the commentaries on the Koran or traditions, of which their legal literature was an offshoot.

Turning to Sanskrit literature we find that it may be divided under the following types:—(i) the earlier Epics, as the Mahabharata (100,000 verses, and probably the biggest epic in the world, equivalent almost to the entire extant Greek literature) and the Ramayana, describing battles between two contending princes, the Kurus and the Pandavas, and between Rama and Ravana for the rescue of Rama's wife Sita, whom Ravana had forcibly carried away. The epic poems had generally for their basis some old traditional story of the life and character of a great man. It sometimes centred round the character of one great personage, and at other times it would describe the deeds of great kings of a particular family (as in Raghuvansa of Kalidasa). An epic poem was divided into many books, with about 100 verses less or more in each book, and the minimum limit of its constituent books or chapters was nine. It should contain descriptions of evening, the sun, the moon, night, darkness, days, mornings, hunting, mountains, forests, seas, seasons, union and separation of lovers, the habitations of sages, sacrifices, cities, battles, marriage, etc. The later epics such as the story of Nala or the killing of King Sisupala by Sriharsa and Magha are of much shorter length. (ii) The Drama occupies an important place in Indian literature. It had ten varieties, which marked its development from the stage of dialogue to the stage of full fledged 10-Act Dramas. (iii) Lyrical poetry, as love poems, didactic poems and poems of renunciation, poems as adoring hymns to gods called stotras, and pantheistic hymns in praise of one absolute reality, panegyrics and love-songs, such as that of Jayadeva's Gita-Govinda, had many varieties. The love-poems are of two kinds, those that describe the union of lovers and those that describe the pangs of separation. In each of these types there is almost an endless variety of subjects in the description of the various psychological states of the minds of the lovers, such as, bashfulness, yearning, sorrow, jealousy, anger through

jealousy or vanity and the like. Satires are almost absent in Sanskrit literature. Stories were written in prose describing the loves of great kings or romantic episodes, of which *Harsacharita* and *Kadambari* of Bana may be taken as excellent specimens. Animal stories, fables and birth-stories where the narrator describes the events of his many past births were written with a moralising purpose. There is one important and extremely bulky literature known as *Puranas* which are full of mythological stories of gods and men in mutual relations, the exploits of great heroes, consequences of evildeeds, the origin of the universe, its final dissolution and the description of the lineage of old kings. Numerous works were written on Medicine of which the earliest extant works go back to 700 B.C. Astronomy is another subject in which the Hindus excelled. Hindu Astronomy was in some measure influenced by Greek Astronomy. History is a subject in which the Hindus were much inferior to the Arabs. For while in Arabia there flourished great works of history, in India with few exceptions there is no historical writing in Sanskrit, and even the authenticity of those works cannot be wholly reliable. Historical materials are now being collected from the writings of foreign travellers, unwritten traditions and from literary works. Like History biographical literature is also very poor in India. The few biographies that exist are mere hyperbolic praises in favour of the great personages whose lives are described and are of little historical value. There is also no geographical literature worthy the name. A few geographical works that exist, such as *Bhugol* by Basav Rajendra and *Vadirajasvamin*, are largely mythical. There exists practically no itinerary or diaries of Indian travellers visiting foreign countries or even the different parts of India. There is nothing also in Sanskrit literature in the way of any scientific study of animals, or plants and minerals, though there are numerous works describing the medical properties of plants, minerals and meat. As regards engineering, cooking, diseases of plants, painting, image-making, there is a fairly good amount of literature written not from a scientific point of view but merely from the practical side. Grammar is one subject in which the Hindus excelled over all other nations of the world, and Panini's Grammar with the commentary of *Katyaṇya* and *Patanjali* will probably survive as the greatest achievement of scientific grammar. Lexicography was also a favourite Indian subject. There are also works on metre and rhetoric, and in the latter in addition to the description of the conventional types of literature there are also discussed canons of criticism and poetical appreciation of a very advanced character. There is also an abundant legal literature called *Smritis*, which describe the religious practices and customs of the people

of different castes. There is a fair amount of literature in Sanskrit on polity and state-craft. The Hindus were as a rule so conservative that they seldom translated any works of foreigners; with the exception of a few works like Yusuf Zuleikha no other books were translated from Arabic or Persian into Sanskrit, though the Mohammedans ruled over India for about seven or eight centuries. In contrast to this Hindu spirit of non-assimilation of foreign literature one may well compare the endeavours of Dara Shekoh, who translated 50 Sanskrit Upanisads into Persian, whence they were translated into Latin by Anquetil Duperron, and thus attracted the notice of Schopenhauer, through whose great admiration of them the Upanisads came into the lime-light in Europe. The subject however which chiefly engrossed the attention of the Hindus was Philosophy.

The systematic treatises on philosophy were written in short and pregnant half-sentences (*sutras*) which did not elaborate the subject in detail, but served only to hold before the reader the lost threads of memory of elaborate disquisitions with which he was already thoroughly acquainted. It seems, therefore, that these pithy half-sentences were like lecture-hints, intended for those who had had direct, elaborate, oral instructions on the subject. It is indeed difficult to guess from the sutras the extent of their significance, or how far the discussions which they gave rise to in later days were originally intended by them. The sutras of the Vedanta system, known as Sariraka-sutras, or Brahmasutras of Badarayana for example, were of so ambiguous a nature that they gave rise to more than half-a-dozen divergent interpretations, each one of which claimed to be the only faithful one. Such was the high esteem and respect in which these writers of the sutras were held by the later writers that whenever they had any new speculations to offer, these were reconciled with the doctrines of one or other of the existing systems, and put down as faithful interpretations of the system in the form of commentaries. Such was the hold of these systems upon scholars that all the orthodox teachers since the foundation of the systems of philosophy belong to one or other of these schools. Their pupils were thus naturally brought up in accordance with the views of their teachers. All the independence of their thinking was limited and enchained by the faith of the school to which they were attached. Instead of producing a succession of free-lance thinkers having their own systems to propound and establish, India brought forth schools of pupils who carried the traditionary views of particular systems from generation to generation, who explained and expounded them, and defended them against the attacks of other rival schools, which they

constantly attacked in order to establish the superiority of the system to which they adhered.

A general history of this great literature is being attempted by me in five large volumes, of which the first has been published by the Cambridge University Press. It will be evident to the readers of these volumes how ancient Hindu thought and ideas have largely anticipated the philosophy not only of the Greeks and the Medieval Scholastics, but also the most recent philosophy of Europe and America. Traditionally there are six systems of Philosophy; Sankhya, Yoga, Nyaya, Vaishesika, Mimamsa and Vedanta, but in addition to these there is a huge literature of the Buddhist, Jaina, Vaisnava and sectarian schools of philosophy. The higher type of religions in India was always associated with philosophy. This must however be distinguished from the lower and popular form of religion and ceremonials, and there is quite a good amount of priestly literature on these subjects.

It is surprising to note that though the Mohammedans lived in India and often encouraged Indian writers, yet there seems to be no influence of Mohammedan kings, heroes or great men on Hindu writers, and no influence of Mohammedan religious customs and literature can be traced on the growth of Sanskrit literature even during the time when the Mohammedans ruled India. In the entire literature of India, excepting in very rare cases, there is no reference to Mohammedans: they are neither praised nor blamed, their learning is neither appreciated nor condemned; they simply did not exist for the Hindu mind. The Sufi poets of Persia have, however, often inspired many of the vernacular poets of India of medieval times, and in recent times they have so crept into Hindu thought that their special traits are often regarded as being of Hindu origin and their Persian origin is forgotten. It is necessary however to point out in this connection that the philosophy of Sufism is probably almost wholly indebted to Vedanta and Yoga thoughts. The aesthetic side of Sufi poetry and its religious emotion is however its own, and it is here that it has affected the Hindu mind. It is not possible in this short article to give anything more than a poor and somewhat insufficient content of the Islamic and the Sanskrit literature. Many fruitful things can be said if the special types of the Islamic and the Hindu literature, such as poetry, or elegy and Hindu epic, are compared and their mutual characteristic qualities are described and illustrated. This however requires a bigger venture.

EDUCATION : ITS SCOPE AND AIMS *

مدت سے تمہارا تہی اسی بات کی مچھرو

چہیڑا ہے نوسن لیچنے قصہ مرے دل کا

I am going to speak to you on "Education—*Its Scope and Aims* "—a subject of first-rate importance at all times. In no captious or cynical spirit do I launch upon the enquiry whether or no we are living up to the educational ideals of our Eastern forebears in these stirring times of competing classes and conflicting interests. In discussing the question I shall make a brief and rapid survey of Islamic Education in the past, comparing and contrasting it with our present-day education.

To proceed—the one thing which stands out in bold relief is that the entire Muslim educational system grew and matured apart from and independently of state-control. It was built upon purely voluntary efforts. It never had an ornamental figure head to carry out state-orders, to impose state-decrees, enforce the official will. The next thing which strikes us in that system is the beneficent influence of religion therein. Interwoven preeminently with religion was the zeal for teaching and learning. The spiritual power which the Qur'an exercised over many nations led them on, without any extraneous pressure, to a desire to read it for themselves, and the desire of itself spread over the Islamic world. And in response to this fast-spreading desire thousands of elementary schools were established in many and in far-distant countries. "That the Muslims established such schools for public instruction not only in Arabia, but even in conquered countries, is an achievement against which neither classical antiquity nor early Christianity has anything to show".¹ And the elementary schools were but avenues to Higher Education, which was distinguished by perfect freedom of thought and movement, utmost publicity and intense activity in the domain of teaching²—all these were permeated through with a religious strain.

From the very beginning, for the use of higher instruction, Islam lent the mosque.

* Presidential Address delivered at the Assam Students' Conference, Gauhati.

¹ Hell, *Arab Civilization* (tr. by Khuda Bukhsh), p. 47.

² See Khuda Bukhsh, *Educational System of the Muslims in the Middle Ages* in the July number of *Islamic Culture*, 1927.

For Muslims the mosque does not bear the same exclusive character as does a church for Christians. It is not merely a place of worship. The Muslim, indeed, honours the mosque, but he does not hesitate to use it for any laudable purpose. Thus the indigent traveller there finds a shelter, the sick a hospital. Not infrequently the community used it as a court of justice; for even the administration of justice was deemed something holy. But next to prayer the holiest thing is learning; for it stands even higher than blind piety. Thus, then were the gates of the mosque readily opened for learned discussions on questions of law. The immense growth of legal knowledge, however, soon let in subjects such as were, at first sight, remote from religion. Thus, under one and the same roof the pious said their prayers and the philologist explained a poet.

Hariri, well-known to the West, delivered in a mosque at Basra lectures on poems that were far from religious.

The custom of the teachers to listen to criticisms and to hold discussions on the subject lectured upon compelled them to prepare their lectures with the utmost care, so as to create a favourable impression. Cases occurred of immature teachers resigning their lecture-ships at the sight of a *savant* in the mosque, and devoting themselves to a more thorough study of their subjects. But even the silent presence of a learned man must have been inspiring.

As the language in which all lectures were delivered was Arabic, every newcomer, even from the remotest corner of the Islamic Empire, could understand and be understood in a mosque. This constant wandering for learning or for curiosity or in search of truth or for mere fashion, whatever the driving motive, introduced much many-sidedness into the entire educational system of Islam. No literary journals were needed then to circulate new ideas. Travellers carried with them to distant countries good and evil reports of the lectures as also of the views they propounded.

"I know nothing, says Von Kremer, which brings home to us a picture of the Muslim zeal for truth more clearly and emphatically than an account of the travels of the last great Arab geographer—Yaqut-i-Hamwi. The Mogol menace, which was to destroy the throne of the Abbasids and the old Baghdad, begins its steady forward course, but does not in the slightest degree interfere with the quiet work of our author in the libraries of Merv. In his flight he saves the greatest portion of his gathered materials, and though hardly at leisure or in peace, he sets to work to complete his task before he embarks on his last journey,—never to return."

Of such travel-loving scholars Arabic literature furnishes an endless list. To this passion for travel the pilgrimage to Mekka supplied the first incentive. The search for traditions occasioned the earliest travels in the pursuit of knowledge; later, other branches of learning followed suit. It was a practice, which continued to later times, to deliver literary and scientific instructions orally. It was not enough to study the book of a renowned author,—according to the Arab view, one must actually hear the author personally deliver the lectures, or study the book under his direct supervision, for thus only was a kind of proof of study established. On this great value was set, as it entitled the holder to deliver independent lectures on the book so studied.

Great is the number of these learned travellers, and Makkari, in his *Spanish History under the Moors*, has a special chapter dealing with the travellers who, in quest of learning, travelled far East, facing all dangers and evading no troubles. Such travels were regarded as God-pleasing work, nay, a religious duty. A saying of the Prophet is quoted: "He who leaves his home in search of knowledge walks in the path of God until his return home". Another saying runs thus: "God makes easy the path of Paradise to him who makes a journey for the sake of knowledge". Stories are related of the pious who, in the beginning of Islam, travelled for months to secure a new tradition or even a variant of one such tradition. Apart from commercial reasons, other motives, later, heightened this passion for travel. Along with the holy places, Mekka and Medina, which the Muslims were enjoined to visit, early indeed was the visit to the mosque of Jerusalem recommended. And, with the rise of Saint-worship, the number of places for pilgrimage,—true, of a lower plane, endlessly multiplied. For people of culture, libraries, educational institutions, professors of widespread fame exercised a powerful magnetic influence. Every student who aimed at a high place at home, must needs hear lectures at the great mosques of Mekka, Baghdad, Damascus, Cairo, or other centres of literary and religious life.

In the beginning it was specially for tradition, exegesis, law, and theology that they made extensive journeys. Later, other branches of learning too inspired in the disciples an enthusiasm quite as great as that inspired by the subjects mentioned. This was specially the case with philological studies, because of their close connexion with the branches of religious learning. To study the Arabic language in its perfect purity, to collect the old popular songs and proverbs, philologists lived among the Beduins.

Azhari, whose caravan was attacked and plundered on its way through the desert, regarded his captivity and stay for some time among the Beduins, as a piece of sheer good luck. Even from remote India came such lovers of learning, and, with entire justice, a keen observer of Arab life says that this craving for travel was of the highest significance for the diffusion of Arab culture. As the prevailing language of all literary and scientific lectures was Arabic, hail he whence he might, in the vast empire of Islam a new-comer was perfectly at home in a mosque or a lecture-room. Language was never a bar or hindrance to him. Thus the constant influx of travellers, of men eager to learn and to see, of the wise and the ambitious, introduced into the intellectual life of the people a great variety and multifariousness. With the good or evil report of the lecturers the travellers carried far away also their opinions and views. Thus not merely copies of new works, but also new thoughts and ideas rapidly made their way all over the Islamic Empire. Through the study of Greek philosophy, carried on with ardent zeal at Baghdad in the ninth and tenth centuries, all this stir and ferment soon affected and leavened the masses.

Qushairi reports how, in Eastern Khorasan, the first messenger of the new ideas was greeted, and how Mekka received the news from a much-travelled scholar (who had rejected the commonly cherished anthropomorphic conceptions of the Deity) of the rise of a new school of religious science at Baghdad.³

Literary and scientific activity soon resulted in the formation of small societies of scholars and scientists. Such a coterie was the broad-minded, progressive club of Basra. A work has come down to us which is apparently the production of such an association of learned and industrious men. I mean the so-called *Treaties of the Brethren of Purity*—a collection of learned and scientific papers embracing the then entire philosophy and sciences.

But apart from private societies of congenial souls, mosques specially were the centres not merely of religious but of learned activities. They served the purpose of the first academies and schools. People gathered there to discuss not merely learned but also political questions. There sat one or other professor on a rush-mat, or a small rug, on the floor, leaning against a column which supported the roof, around him a circle of listeners, friends, acquaintances. Nay, such a sight may even now be seen in the mosques of the large towns

³ Khuda Bukhsh, *Studies: Indian and Islamic*, pp. 164-66.

of the East. In this fashion are lectures delivered to this day in the chief mosque of Cairo. When a text is explained, the book lies on a reading-stand before the professor. He either himself reads the text, and explains it orally, or lets one of his pupils read it, while he himself explains as the reading goes on. Of old many of these professors had large audiences. The instruction was absolutely free. Only in primary schools (Kuttah) where children were taught reading and writing, and which were purely private institutions, did the teachers, who maintained them as a means of livelihood, charge a fee. Then, not only strictly theological studies, but also philological studies, closely connected with them, were carried on in the mosques. Even certain philosophical and mathematical studies were included in the syllabus.

But special institutions, the so-called Madrassahs or Academies, soon came into being. The reason for their creation is to be sought, not in the fact that the mosques had become too small for the increasing number of students, or that such an increase interfered with their original character as Houses of Worship, but in the growth of a class of men, devoted to learned studies, who bitterly experienced, as is experienced still, the difficulty of earning a living through abstract learning.

To insure a competence for such men, and to put them in a position to carry on, unharassed, their particular line of study, as also to help those that needed help in their studies, the beautiful practice of founding Madrassahs came into vogue. In 383 A. H. (993 A.D.) the first institution of this kind was established in Baghdad. Another followed in the year 400 A. H. (1009-10 A.D.) at Naisabur. Rapidly their number multiplied, with the result that all great towns soon possessed them. To found a Madrassah was regarded as a pious, meritorious act. Not only were Madrassahs founded but they were also endowed with the necessary funds for their upkeep, for the pay of their professors, and for scholarships to students. Often, indeed, did the professors and the students receive free board and lodging. To the travelling scholars specially did the Madrassahs offer a secure shelter and a warm welcome. A chapel and a library invariably formed part of the Madrassah.

Noticeable was the Madrassah for its external appearance. It was usually built of hewn stones. On the door was the dedication-inscription carved on stone. The interior chiefly consisted of a prayer-hall, in front of which stood an open courtyard. In the midst of

that was a large raised reservoir, and round this courtyard, invariably surrounded by arcades, extended the out-houses, consisting of small rooms which opened into the courtyard. Other rooms were used as lecture-rooms or as libraries.

The Madrassahs of Cairo mostly have on the upper storey an open hall, with double circular arched windows resting on a pillar constructed in the centre. Such a loggia is called *Manzara*, and this style of building seems to have been common in Baghdad.

From the fourth century onward such colleges were founded everywhere. Liberal encouragement and support were extended to the literary proletariat and the travelling scholar. Thus the indigent scholar wandering in pursuit of learning, was always sure there of free board and lodging. Not only were theological studies carried on in the Madrassahs, but in large towns, such as Damascus, Cairo and Baghdad, there were also Madrassahs where medicine was taught, and in Baghdad there was one where a specialist lectured on Arab philology.

And this absorbing passion for learning could hardly be satisfied without libraries, public and private. Leaving private libraries aside for the moment, history records that the first public library was established at Baghdad in A. H. 381. But even earlier than this, Mamun had founded a learned Academy (*House of Wisdom*) which possessed a large collection of books. This example was followed by a Fatimid Caliph who also founded a House of Learning (*Dar-al-Ilm*) in Cairo. Immediately before its destruction by the Mogals, Baghdad possessed no less than thirty-six libraries (Reinaud: *Intro. a la Geogr. d' Aboulfeda*, CXL, II). That in other Muslim towns too there was no lack of libraries, the information regarding the libraries at Merv abundantly proves.

Maqdisi relates that he found a library at Ramhurmuz which was different only in one respect from that of Basra, namely, that the latter had a richer collection. The librarian at Ramhurmuz, he reports, was a scholar who, in addition to his duties, delivered lectures on the Mutazilite system of philosophy. In Shiraz he found yet another great library in a palace which had been built by a Buyyid prince. He describes the edifice as one of the most extensive and exquisite architectural achievements of that age. He speaks of the library thus: "The library occupies a special portion of the building. It has a director, a librarian, a superintendent,—officers chosen from the *elite* of the town. The founder has provided the library with books of all kinds. The great hall is in a huge *Suffah* (i.e., a platform walled up

on three sides). Shelves are let into the walls on every side of the hall. In length they are of human height, in breadth three yards. They are painted and ornamented with gold. The books are arranged cross-ways on the shelves one over another. Each subject has its own shelf, and every shelf its own catalogue, where the books are minutely described. Only decent people have admission to the library."

Not only did scholars study in the libraries, but, it seems, they were also used as lively meeting-places for men of culture and refinement, where learned discussions and debates took place.

In his *Maqamah* Hariri describes a scene in the library of the little town of Hulwan, where Abu Zaid, peripatetic *literature*, finding a reader turning over the pages of the poetical collection of Abu Ubaida, uses the opportunity for a display of his talents in improvisation.

What then is the lesson which the history of Islamic Education reinforces? Its outstanding feature is its freedom from state-control, a curious anticipation of the most enlightened modern view of to-day! The entire system owed its existence and continuance to a pure and pressing demand for light and lore. It was a system not imposed from above, but which drew its sustenance and support entirely from the people. It was liberal, for it set no barriers to light; it was free, for with a free hand it lavished its gifts; it was wide-spread, for few escaped its influence; it was corporate and organized, for it knit the whole of the Islamic world into one indivisible cultural unity; it was bold, challenging, scientific, shirking no conclusions, fearing no consequences, disdaining no guidance. It was positively not what education is to-day, a mere stepping-stone to a government-post. It was an end in itself,—the end being the glory of the mind, the adornment of the soul, the making of a good citizen. With them, as with all free people, it was not the economic or material values but the spiritual values of education that counted. Nor were they slow to realise the incalculable importance of the personal contact of the teacher with the taught, and the moulding, leavening influence of such contact: the enthusiasms it awakened; the mental alertness that it quickened; all that was noble and good that it drew out; the enduring impression that it left behind.

Imagine a class-room of pupils with a professor whose only credential was his knowledge and whose only certificate his ability to teach! What emulations will not such a gathering evoke; what incentives to higher achievements and larger sacrifices will it not provide; what informed purposes of citizenship will it not call into being! Such was the educational system of Islam!

It was this very system which produced judges of incorruptible integrity and citizens of dauntless courage who rated honour and self-respect higher than mere fleeting, material gain.

Witness the lives of Sa'id ibn Musyab, Abu Hanifa, Nazzam, al-Ghazali, Mawardi, Jalaluddin Rumi to mention but a few! Was it not again this very system that nurtured those writers of eternal renown who have penned those beautiful hymns to freedom and to sweet-reasonableness in religion? And was it not again born of this education, that sensitiveness to honour; that pride which felt a stain like a wound; that righteousness which defied temptation; that tenderness and liberalism which drew mankind to its bosom as a loving brotherhood?

And have we not, in our own times, heard its fitful, yet distinct echoes? Who can read Mir Taqi, Momin Khan, Zawq, Ghalib, Hali, Iqbal without realizing that they are the inheritors of the two-fold Islamic tradition of self-respect and sweet reasonableness in all things human and divine?

What indictment can be graver and sadder than the indictment of Hali?

اپنی خود کرتے تھے عزت گرنہ کرتا تھا کوی

سرھر اک نعروں کے آگے نہ نہ ہوتا تھے ہم

What pride nobler or more stern than that of Momin Khan?

مٹت حضرت عیسیٰ نہ کریں گے ہرگز

زندگی کے لئے شرمندہ احسان ہونگے

What reforming zeal more true or more touchingly articulate than that of Ghalib?

ہا من میاویز ای پدر فرزند آذرا نا

ہر کس کہ شد صاحب نظر دین بزرگان خوش نکرد

What lament more tragically pathetic and seasonable than that of Iqbal?

ہوا پیکار کی آخر اجازے کی گلستان کو

خدا رکھے یہ ہیں اپنے برائے مہربانوں میں

Jews as well as the Greeks felt that the paramount need of humanity was knowledge, and that man should know the truth about

himself and his relation to the power outside him. But whereas the Greeks unwearingly brooded over the question what knowledge was and how could knowledge be attained, the Jews found the answer to this question ready made: "The Knowledge of the Lord was the beginning and the end of Wisdom." This answer however useful in cementing the bond of spiritual kinship and stimulating the sense of spiritual unity served, in the long run, to block up the thousand-and-one-avenues to knowledge which the Greeks discovered and made use of. 'The knowledge of the Lord' unassisted, unsupplemented by the experiences of the manifold phases of life, offered but little or no satisfaction to the deeper and pressing intellectual problems that arose and must needs arise in a progressive community.

Thus, with the Greeks, knowledge, unfettered in its course, began its voyage of discovery. There came the drama with its own interpretation of life; there came philosophy with its own scalpel of analysis; there came, in short, the spirit of enquiry, holding forth the torch of guidance. Herein appears in glaring contrast the difference between the Jewish and the Greek mentality. With the one religion became the end, with the other the starting-point of knowledge.

Islam, at the height of its civilization, saw the beauty and the utility of this spirit and made it its own. "The first condition of knowledge is doubt," acclaimed the philosopher Nazzam, and in acclaiming that principle he was but giving expression to the pervading spirit of the age.

With justice says Sèdillot: "What characterized the school of Baghdad from its inception was its scientific spirit. Proceeding from the known to the unknown; taking precise account of celestial phenomenon; accepting nothing as true which was not confirmed by experiment—such were the fundamental principles taught and acclaimed by the then masters of the sciences." "The Arab," says Draper, "has impressed his intellectual stamp upon Europe, and not in too remote a future will Christendom concede this truth."

True, in its inception Islam, like Judaism, regarded "the Knowledge of the Lord" as the beginning and the end of wisdom, but with the clash of mind with mind, with the disruptive influences of Greek and Persian civilizations, it extended, widened, broadened the frontier of knowledge. "The Knowledge of the Lord" continued to be the beginning, but, thanks to the progressive spirit of Islam, it for ever ceased to be the end of wisdom.

Thus in the East, particularly in countries of Arabic speech, an exceedingly rich⁴ and varied secular literature grew up, which found a warm welcome in the great mass of cultural classes of the nation; in the West, literary occupations, in the first half of the Middle Ages, remained the monopoly of the monasteries. In the Empire of the Caliph literature became the common property of the educated people. To it everyone who had the capacity or the inclination contributed in his own way. In the West it continued to be the privilege of a caste which imported into its literary works theories and prepossessions born of its particular education and upbringing, and resented every new independent tendency which deviated from or clashed with its inherited or acquired notions.

Thus the Arabs early established a secular literature of their own; whereas, for many a long day, exclusively religious remained the trend of Europe.

For the first time, the great popular drama of the Crusades, which evoked universal reaction in the shape of fanaticism and intolerance throughout the East, operated as a lively stimulus in Europe diverting intellectual activities to secular streams.

No less remarkable is it that, while in Europe precisely at the time (between 403/413 A.H.=1012-1022 A.D.) a bloody war of extermination was being waged against the Albigensis, in Islam Ma'arri was openly allowed to avow and sing his note of free-thinking, without let or hindrance.

Like Islamic Art, Islamic learning owes its inspiration to Islamic religion, and its inspiration was at once liberal and beneficent.

And, indeed, can we ever divorce religion from education? There can be but one answer—an answer in the emphatic negative. But the religion which is to be the ally and partner of education must be a religion which unites and not divides mankind; which inculcates kindness and charity; which regards the work of each individual and each generation as a contribution to the sum-total of human goodness; which realizes that though truth may have many vestures, it has but one true voice only; the voice of pity and charity, and finally, which, with the poet Sa'ib, regards free-thought and faith as mere sign-posts leading to one and the same goal:

گفتگوی کفر و دین آخر یک جا می‌کشد

خواب یک خواب است ایکن مختلف تعبیرها

⁴ Islamic Culture, Vol. I., pp. 593-594.

⁵ Free thought and faith—the upshot's one; they wrangle o'er a name: Interpretations differ, but the dream is still the same.

And no great Educationist, Eastern or Western, has ever sought to build up the edifice of education without it. And in their essence, are not all religions one and the same? But the lament of Jalaluddin Rumi is as true now as it was in his days. It will find an echo and will awaken a longing in every truly religious heart for a better order of things:

عاقبت دیدند هرگون ملتى
لا جرم گشتند اسیر ذلتى
عاقبت دیدن نباشد دست باف
روزنه کى بودى ز این عالم

And naught else but the farce of things it was that called forth the piercing cry of Jami:

از مدرسه به کعبه روم یا به میکده
لى پیرزه بگو که طریق صواب چیست

"I still dream of a time," said Perceval at the Jubilee of Clifton College, "when from some school, under some influence which as yet we know not, there shall go forth year by year a new generation of men, who shall be characterised not merely by some social, athletic, or literary accomplishment, some conventional varnish or culture, but by a combination of gifts and strength and moral purpose which shall stamp them as prominent workers, if not as leaders and prophets, in the next stage of our country's evolutionary progress. There is still abundant room, to say nothing of the crying need, for these social missionaries of a new type, men in whom public spirit, public duty, and social purpose shall be practicable and guiding motives, not vague and intermittent sentiments".

The ideal is a dream to-day. Why? Because the spirit of religion is not in accord with the spirit of education. Never will such an ideal be realized without a happy and harmonious union of the two,—

* Every sort of religious sect foresaw the end (according to their own surmise): of necessity they fell captive to error. To foresee the end is not (as simple as) a hand-loom, otherwise, how would there have been difference in religions.

⁷ Whither from the Madrassah, whither of the Ka'ba or to tavern shall I go, say, Oh Shaikh say, which way lies the path of truth.

Knowledge holding the light, Religion sanctifying it with grace and charity.

Apart from the spiritual and intellectual aspects, education has a practical aspect too,—its civic aspect. With an enlarged outlook on life; with a spirit of toleration and compromise; with a wide and widening charity; with the realization of the imperious necessity of give and take, citizenship becomes a partnership in all science and art, in every virtue, in all perfection. Patriotism, in a loftier sense, is its flower and fruit,—the patriotism which cements common-fellowship and binds one to another with an unbreakable chain of sacred rights and obligations. Education, at least in the busy world of the twentieth century, is not intended to create a whole race of scholars devoted exclusively to the things of the mind, but citizens capable of judgment and discrimination, possessed of larger views and wider catholicity than those which are bounded by the narrow horizon of self and self-interests. It is intended to build up character, and as Novalis has admirably said, "Character is destiny". "National patriotism and an educated nation are the two sides of the same shield. Education founded on patriotic purpose and carried on in a patriotic spirit is the national structure which we, like our colleagues in other quarters of the field—in science, art, economics, industry—are concerned with building up. This, too, may be said as a last word about patriotism, that while it requires guarding and fostering, while it may decay from neglect or be distorted by misuse, it is deeply rooted in human nature, and is not dead even where it seems to have fallen asleep. It cannot be killed either by false teaching or by bad example. One hears much of the selfishness of individual against individual, of class against class, even of study against study. Of the patriotism which, in the greater and in the lesser spheres alike, acts constantly as a bond of union, we hear little. It does not strive or cry. It is hardly conscious of itself. But it is there,—sometimes to manifest itself amazingly in great emergencies, always to keep the frame of society together. Patriotism, devotion to the *patria*, would be a meaningless word if there were no *patria*, no community and common good, to be devoted to. It means the sense and the assurance of kinship. Kinship is the same word as kindness. Kindness is the same thing as love. Love is the ultimate motive force of the world.*

Michelet, who was born in 1798, used to speak of Germany, says Fisher, as the India of Europe, denoting by this phrase that the Germans

* Mackail, *Classical Essays*, pp. 252-3,

were so absorbed in metaphysical and mystical speculations as to be only faintly interested in the problems of material power. A nation of poets, dreamers, and musicians, without political gifts, without political ambitions, subdivided into a number of petty states, and only at rare intervals conscious of any common German feeling,—such was the picture of Germany which presented itself to the mind of a French historian writing towards the middle of the nineteenth century. There could be no sharper contrast than the Germany described by Michelet and the Germany preached by Treitschke and exhibited to the world in the course of the last generation. In the span of a single lifetime a thorough discipline in patriotism had converted a naturally docile population from being one of the least politically-minded races in Europe into an acceptance of the State as being the source of all authority, and the be-all and end-all of life. There is, perhaps, no clearer instance in history of the power of education to produce a spirit of sustained patriotic fervour in a people who for centuries had been conspicuous for the low temperature of their public emotions.*

And if Education can do what it unquestionably has done for Germany, why can it not do the same for India? But such an education must be broad-based and must needs have its sanction and appeal in our own history and tradition, the Eastern tradition. To us both, Hindus and Mohammedans, education was a sacred duty, not a source of mercenary gain. It was liberal, it was humane, it was an instrument of mental and moral elevation. That love of learning which shrank from no sacrifice; which feared no obstacles; which stood out for truth and naught but the truth; which inculcated independence and fought for freedom of the soul; which set righteousness above worldly gain, and honesty of purpose above opportunism,—such was the tone and temper of the true Eastern education. A constitution, said Barère, is never a concession of the throne,¹⁰ and that great thinker, John Stuart Mill, has affirmed what Barère has averred. "Human nature", says he, "is not a machine to be built after a model, and set to do exactly the work prescribed for it, but a tree which requires to grow and develop itself on all sides, according to the tendency of the inward forces which make it a living thing".

What then is the ideal of education? Surely not to secure a passport to public services; to add a few letters of the alphabet to

* Fisher, *The Common Weal*, pp. 100-101.

¹⁰ *Memoirs*, Vol. I., p. 140.

one's name; to acquire a superficial knowledge of the English language at the cost of our own; to venture out into the uncharted sea of Politics; to indulge in irresponsible hysterics; to break with the past; to masquerade in foreign ways or glibly utter foreign thoughts; to go through life without a fixed, definite aim; to ignore the claims or ride rough-shod over the feelings of our neighbours; to fling aside the country's cause and to set the heart on narrow aims or grossly selfish interests. Should not the ideal be the creation of an intellectual and spiritual life, with a civic life of a piece with it? By intellectual and spiritual life I mean the discipline and enlightenment of the mind, and what do they consist in? Surely in the power of distinguishing good reasoning from bad, in the power to digest and interpret evidence, in the habit of a catholic observation and a preference for a non-partisan point of view, in a taste for knowledge and a deep respect for the integrity of the human mind. The educated man is to be discovered, says President Wilson, by his point of view, by the temper of his mind, by his attitude towards life and his fair way of thinking. He can see, he can discriminate, he can combine ideas and perceive whither they lead; he has insight and comprehension. His mind is a practised instrument of appreciation. He is more apt to contribute light than heat to a discussion, and will oftener than another show the power of uniting the elements of a difficult subject in whole view; he has the knowledge of the world which no one can have who knows only his own generation or only his own task.¹¹

What we want is the growth and development of the true spirit of learning; a healthy and stimulating rivalry, drawing all that is best in us; the formation of all that goes to constitute a gentleman, the taste and propriety, the generosity and forbearance, the candour and consideration,—the full assemblage of them bound up in the unity of an individual character. What we want is that the education given should be directed to the highest ends, to the ideal perfection of citizenship; not the education which aims at the acquisition of wealth or bodily strength or mere cleverness apart from intelligence and justice.¹²

In India everything, indeed, tends to degenerate into a groove; everything settles down into a dry, lifeless routine; everything becomes cast-iron, hide-bound—yes, everything here is red-tape, slow-footed, clogged and choked with the dust of custom, prescription, meaningless formality. Against such a danger it would be as well to bear in mind

¹¹ *College and State*, Vol. II., p. 109.

¹² Butcher's *Harvard Lectures on Greek Subjects*, pp. 72, 73.

the wholesome warning of Sir Walter Raleigh: "There is another danger, a kind of lethargy," says he, "which falls upon universities in the day of their prosperity, when they have thousands of students and a full measure of public recognition and material success. Then they sometimes forget their earlier gospel, they lose their first sprightly impulse and settle down to a programme, a time-table, an industry, a system. Machinery and discipline, a constitution and regulations—these things are necessary for any great institution; but they are the body of the institution, not its animating soul. If discipline be exalted at the expense of everything else, you get a spirit creditable perhaps to a brigade, but disastrous to the activities of the mind."¹³

And this is not the only danger which threatens education here. To quote Sir Walter Raleigh once again: "Spontaneity and individuality," says he, "are the springs of its life. Its bravest and most momentous deeds are deviations from the beaten track.....Freedom to think, to criticise, to doubt are essential to a University. *It cannot be free if it is the appenage of any external power.*"¹⁴

But years ago Syed Ahmad Khan anticipated Sir Walter: "Our Government has done a great deal," says Syed Ahmad Khan, "for our education and our thanks are due to our Sovereign Lady, Queen Victoria. *But I assure you that we can secure neither national education nor national self-respect unless and until we take our education in our hands. It is wholly beyond the scope of Government to meet all our needs, to fulfil all our demands. In matters of national interest, it is nothing short of folly, nay of positive shame, to throw ourselves entirely at the feet of Government. It should be our bounden duty to put our own shoulders to the wheel; to rely first and foremost on ourselves in the discharge of our national duties and obligations. We should look to Government for nothing more than bare encouragement and moral support. Were we to act thus, both the Government and the people would respectively discharge their duties*".¹⁵

The cry is becoming more and more vocal and strident against the officialisation of the Calcutta University. I know not whether the cry is founded upon real menace or imaginary fear. But whatever may be the case, of one thing there can be no doubt that you have the destiny of education in your own hands. It is up to you to make or mar it. 'Advancement of Learning' is the motto of the Calcutta University. Would it not be better to accept for a while, at least,

¹³ Raleigh, *Meaning of a University*, p. 13.

¹⁴ *Meaning of a University*, pp. 16-17. Seeley's *Lectures and Essays*, p. 121.

¹⁵ *Address on Islamic Education in India*, p. 137.

Dominus illuminatio mea as its motto—the motto of that God-fearing and God-sustained University of Oxford? But the ‘Dominus’ is not to be the fleeting, bureaucratic lord, but the eternal Lord of the Universe from whom unceasingly flow Love and Light and Loveliness; whose service is the service of Truth and whose worship, the worship of the Beautiful].

There can be no true politics without true education, for without true education patriotism will be a mere name for self-seeking and love of the country a meaningless affirmation.

I will now conclude with those beautiful lines of Rabindra Nath Tagore,—lines which are at once a prayer and a prophecy, where the poet, peering into the future, lifts the veil of futurity for us of narrow vision, to catch a glimpse of the India of the future:—

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held up;
Where knowledge is free;
Where the world has not been broken up into fragments
 of narrow domestic walls;
Where words come out from the depth of truth;
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into
 the dreary desert sand of dead habit;
Where the mind is led forward by thee into ever-widening
 thought and action—
Into that heaven of freedom, my father, let this country
 awake "

Let us all, with bended knee and humbled head, join the poet in his fervent prayer, and let us all, with everything that lies in our power, help forward the realisation of the poet's dream.

SPECIMENS OF MUSLIM CALLIGRAPHY IN THE GHOSH COLLECTION, CALCUTTA.

Mr. Ajit Ghosh¹ is a well-known *connoisseur* and Collector of Indian Art. His splendid collection of paintings both Indian and Islamic is one of the finest of its kind in India. It comprises some of the best specimens of Indo-Islamic Art,—Manuscripts, Paintings, Lacquer book-bindings, *Waslis*, etc. In his collection we find remarkable specimens of the superb skill and fine workmanship of almost all the well-known painters, decorators and calligraphists of India and Persia. The paintings of the Persian Schools of Bihzad, Mirak, Sultan Muhammad and Riza-i-Abbasi are well represented, while the Mughal paintings of the Court-artists of Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan are many and representative in character. The paintings of the Rajput, Kangra, Garahwal, Lucknow and Patna Schools are too numerous to be enumerated and can vie with the best collections of Indian Art, whether in India or elsewhere. Mr. Ghosh's collection of illustrated and illuminated Persian manuscripts and specimens of Muslim Calligraphy, although small, is nevertheless valuable, and will do honour to any collection of Indo-Islamic Art.

I propose to give in this paper a brief account of the specimens of Muslim Calligraphy in the collection of Mr. Ghosh and to give the readers only a very general idea of the calligraphy, illumination, and ornamentation of the Manuscripts and the *Waslis* that I describe. But in order to enable them to know more of the calligraphists, their life, style and technique, etc., I will refer them to some of the notable authorities on the subject.

On examination of Mr. Ghosh's collection of specimens of Muslim calligraphy, I have classified it under the following heads:—

- (i) *Kufic*.
- (ii) *Bihar*.
- (iii) *Tumar*.
- (iv) *Naskh*.

¹ Advocate, High Court, Calcutta.



A page from a Kuli Qur'an



A *wasli* transcribed by
Sultan Ali Al-Mashhadi.

- (v) *Nasta'liq*: (a) Manuscripts and (b) *Waslis*.
 (vi) *Shaft'a*.
 (vii) *Shikasta*.

Of the above, the best and the finest in my opinion are the specimens of *Kufic* and *Nasta'liq* calligraphy.

Now I proceed to describe the *Waslis* and the Manuscripts in the order in which I have classified them above:—

1.—KUFIC.

- (1) A leaf (size $10'' \times 7\frac{1}{4}''$)* from a *Kufic Qur'an* (apparently 9th century A.D.), written on vellum. It is a splendid specimen of *Kufic* Calligraphy; the dots being in red and the names of the *Suras* in gold (see Plate 1a).
- (2) 20 leaves (size $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6''$) from a *Kufic Qur'an*, written apparently with an iron stylus on fine vellum. The decorations on the margin appear to be of stylised peacocks, bearing a striking resemblance to its counterpart in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin². The margins contain small inscriptions (covered with gold), which I was unable to decipher in the short time at my disposal.

2.—BIHAR.

The only specimen of *Bihar* calligraphy is a recent acquisition, a complete copy of the *Qur'an* ($10\frac{3}{4}'' \times 8''$; $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6''$) written in a uniform hand, with illuminated '*unwan*'. The names of the *Suras* are ornamented, and parallel to them are small medallions on the margin. The decoration is simple in style, and stands in striking contrast to the

* The measurement given is in inches.

² Schulz (P. W.) *Die persisch-islamische Miniaturalerei*, Tafel 93. The *Bibliothèque Nationale* contains, perhaps, the largest number of *Kufic Qurans*. See Martin (F.R.), *Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey*, p. 95. For other specimens See Blochet (M.E.), *Les Enluminures des Manuscrits Orientaux Turcs, Arabes, Persans, de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Plates II—V; Zafar Hasan, *Specimens of Muslim Calligraphy in the Delhi Museum of Archaeology*, pp. 1, 4, and Plate I; *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. I, pp. 388-389; Marteau (G) and Vever (H), *Miniatures Persanes*, Forme 10 (a); Sarre (F) and Martin (F.R.), *Ausstellung Von Meisterwerken Muhammedanischer Kunst in Munchen*, 1912, Vol. I, Plates 1, 2.

more ornamented and illuminated copies of the *Qur'an* produced in the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries, A.D. The first two pages contain fine arabesques.³

3.—TUMAR.

A *Wasli* ($8\frac{1}{4}'' \times 3\frac{1}{4}''$) highly illuminated and elaborately decorated, in the script known as *Tumar*. Probably, the *Wasli* is a page from a splendid copy of the *Qur'an* which had been carefully mounted and embellished with gold.⁴ Scribe unknown.

4.—NASKH.

There are only two specimens of *Naskh* calligraphy in the collection:—

- (1) A *Wasli* ($9\frac{3}{8}'' \times 5''$), written with white ink (or, as is usually said, with pearls), with the diacritical points in gold, on a blue back-ground. It is in a good condition of preservation, and probably belongs to the later 18th or the early 19th century.
- (2) A *Wasli* ($4'' \times 3\frac{1}{4}''$) written in gold with blue margins, fine in design and execution. It is signed by Muhammad Sharif, who is probably the son of Khwaja 'Abdus Samad *Shirin Qalam*⁵, the well-known painter and scribe of the Courts of Humayun and Akbar. Muhammad Sharif was a "school companion of Prince Salim," and when the latter revolted against Akbar he was sent to pacify the Prince, but contrary to expectations "only widened the breach between the prince and his father⁶." After the reconciliation, Muhammad Sharif had to flee for his life, and only returned on receiving the news of Jahangir's accession to the throne⁷. Jahangir writes of him in his *Memoirs* :—

* For other specimens see Zafar Hasan *Specimens of Muslim Calligraphy in the Delhi Museum of Archaeology*, p. 5, Plate 1, Nos. 3, 4. He observes that the *Qur'ans* "written in characters of a transition style between *Kufic* and *Naskh*," are "believed to have evolved at a very early period in India, and the fact that not a single specimen of it has been illustrated in Moritz's Arabic Paleography confirms the belief that it was not known in Arabia, Persia or Egypt" and that this style is "commonly known as *Khat-i-Bihar*" (p. 5).

* For other specimens of *Tumar* calligraphy see Schulz, *Pers. Min.*, Plates 94-99.

* *A'in-i-Akbari* (Blochmann), Vol. I, p. 495.

* *Ibid.*, p. 517.

* Jahangir says, "On the 4th of Rajab, being fifteen days after my accession he waited upon me" (*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, tr. by Rogers and Beveridge, p. 14).

" I look upon him as a brother, a friend, and a companion..... I had perfect confidence in his friendship, intelligence, learning and acquaintance with affairs.....⁸ "

The author of *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawisan* says that Sharif " was a man of wisdom, and versed in the various Sciences and the Arts. He was a master of Arabic, Persian and *Calligraphy*." Blochmann observes that " Like his father, Sharif was a good painter. He also made himself known as a poet and composed a *Diwan*. His *Takhallus* is Farisi¹⁰." He died in 1021 A.H.¹¹.

5.—NASTA'LIQ.

The specimens of *Nasta'liq* calligraphy in this collection are the best that I have seen in any private collection in Bengal or Bihar. Mr. Ghosh possesses a large number of *Qita's* and Manuscripts transcribed by the most famous scribes of India and Persia.

As remarked before, the *Nasta'liq* specimens may be sub-divided into two:— (A) *Waslis* and (B) *Manuscripts*—either with or without miniatures.

I shall first describe the *Waslis* :—

(A).—*Waslis*.

1. A very finely illuminated and decorated *Wasli* (size 10" × 5½") bearing the signature of Sultan 'Ali al-Mashhadi, the well-known scribe of the Court of Sultan Husain Baiqara (1469-1506) and a favourite of his illustrious prime-minister, Mir 'Ali Shir Nawa'i¹². Sultan 'Ali,

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁹ *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawisan* by Ghulam Muhammad, *Raqim* (Bib. Indica), p. 90.

¹⁰ *A'in-i-Akbari* (Blochmann), Vol. I, p. 518.

¹¹ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* (Rogers and Beveridge), p. 231. For further particulars see Badayuni (*Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, p. 310), where it is said that " he stands unrivalled in calligraphy and painting " and that he could paint the portrait of a Cavalier, with his arm and armour, etc., on a grain of rice. There is an Album in the Bodleian Library, (Sachau and Etche's *Catalogue*, No. 1899), which contains miniatures from the brush of Khwaja 'Abdus Samad and two *Waslis* transcribed by his son, Muhammad Sharif. They are dated 1039 A.H.=1629-30, but as Sharif died in 1021 A.H. it is difficult to reconcile the two dates. Is it that this Muhammad Sharif is a different scribe or that some one has changed ۱۰۳۹ (1039) into ۱۰۳۹ (1039)? See also 'Abdul Muqtadir, *Bankipore Pers. Catalogue*, XI, pp. 97, 98.

¹² Babur says in his *Memoirs* (tr. by A. S. Beveridge), " of fine pen-men there were many; the one standing-out in *naksh-ta'liq* was Si. 'Ali of Mashhad who copied many books for the Mirza and for 'Ali-Sher Beg, writing daily 30 couplets for the first, 20 for the second " (p. 291).

who is styled as *Qiblat-ul-Kuttab*, has rightly been regarded as one of the greatest scribes of Persia. " 'Ali Mashhadi, who was called Sultan from his mastery of penmanship, is acknowledged to have brought the art of *Nasta'liq* handwriting to its highest perfection. He is known to have co-operated with the famous miniaturist Bahzad in preparing a royal manuscript of the History of Tamerlane."¹³ Sam Mirza Safawi, a partially contemporary prince and biographer, pays a tribute to 'Ali Mashhadi in the following glowing terms: "The pen of *Kiraman Katibin* has not inscribed on the pages of existence a Calligrapher of the merit of Sultan 'Ali Mashhadi." Again, the same biographer, quoting the following verses of Sultan 'Ali, shows that even at the age of 63 'his pen was young'¹⁴ :—

مرا عمر شصت و سه بیش است و کم هفوزم جوان است مشکین قلم
توانم هنوز از خفای و جلی نوشتن که العبد سلطان علی

Sultan 'Ali died after 921 A.H.¹⁵

¹³ Jackson (A. V. W.), *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts* (Cochran Collection, New York), p. 161.

¹⁴ *Tuhfa-i-Sami* (nuy Ms. Copy), fol. 17a.

¹⁵ Several conflicting dates, ranging between 902 and 919 A.H., have been assigned to his death. (See *Tadhkira-i-Khushnavisan*, p. 49, n. 1). According to *Halab-us-Siyar*, (Vol. iii, Part iii, p. 345) Sultan 'Ali died in 919 A.H., but we cannot accept this date for we have, among others, the following two evidences against that:—(i) a Persian manuscript transcribed by Sultan 'Ali Mashhadi and exhibited in Paris, in 912, bears 920 A.H. as the date of transcription, vide Marteau and Vever, *Miniatures Persanes* Forme 8 (No. 12) and (ii) a valuable copy of *Risala-i-Khawaja 'Abdulla Ansari* in the Rampur State Library, transcribed by the same calligrapher, bears 921 A.H. as the date of transcription, vide J. A. S. B., Vol. xiv, No. 6, p. 418.

For further particulars of Sultan 'Ali's life and specimens of his penmanship, etc., see besides the above, *Um-i-Akbari* (Blochmann), Vol. I, pp. 101-2; *Majalis-ul-Muminin* (*majlis* 10, from which we learn that Sultan 'Ali died at Mashhad in 1919 and was buried near the library); *May-Khana* (ed. by Muhi. Shafi'), p. 84 n.—*Mirat-ul-'Alam* (Bihar Ms.), fols. 267b, 268a; Martin, *Min. Painting*, pp. 112, 113, 115, 116, 135 and Plates 246, 250, 251; Kuhnelt (E) *Miniaturmalerei im Islamischen Orient*, pp. 56, 58 and Plates 44, 55, 56, Goetz (H) and Kuhnelt (E), *Indian Book Painting from Jahangir's Album in the State Library in Berlin*, pp. 3, 5, 7, 60 and Plate 24; Schulz, *Min. Pers.*, pp. 164, 165, etc., and Plates 116a, 117b, 121, 122, 130a; Blochet, *Enl. Man. Orient.*, pp. 89-91, 93, 94, 120, 121; Plates XLIIb, XLIII-XLVI; Huart, *Call. Min. Mus.*, pp. 221, 237; Clarke (C.S.) *Indian Drawings of the School of Jahangir* (Wantage Bequest), p. 4 and Plates 21, 22; Biermann (G), *Jahrbuch der Asiatischen Kunst*, 1925, p. 141; Sachau and Ethe (*Bod. Lib. Pers. Cat.*), Nos. 883, 1896, 1897; Ethe (*Ind. Off. Cat.*), Nos. 1055, 1204, 1313, 2765; Rieu (*Br. Mus. Cat.*), ii, pp. 573a; 783a, 785a; Zafar Hasan, *Spec. Musl. Call.*, pp. 7, 8; Migeon (G), *D'art Musulman*, (1927), i, p. 167; Blochet, *Cat. Mss. de Shefer*, Nos. 1416, 1445, 1515, and 993 (Turkish); Sarre and Martin, *Meister Muh. Kunst*, i, Plates 23, 31 (b).

A particular interest attaches to this *Qita'* as it was transcribed for Mulla Jami, a contemporary of the Calligrapher. I would like to add here that at first sight the *Qita'* does not appear to be genuine, as the ink of the writing hardly seems to be as old as the 10th century A.H. The decorations and illuminations, however, appear to be old, and it is quite possible that the original writing may have been retouched by some later hand (See Plate 1b).

2. A *Wasli* ($6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{3}{4}''$) written in gold letters, with delicate floral designs in blue, pink and violet, by the celebrated Mir 'Ali al-Katib, of Herat. We are indebted to Sam Mirza Safawi, a contemporary biographer, for this valuable information that "although he (Mir 'Ali) came of a family of Saiyyids of Herat, yet he was brought up in the holy city of Mashhad. He learnt *Nasta'liq* calligraphy from Mulla Sultan 'Ali of Mashhad, but as a matter of fact surpassed him. Indeed, no one has written a better *Nasta'liq* hand than him¹⁶." In a *Risala*¹⁷, which Mir 'Ali composed in 909 and dedicated to Sultan Muzaffar, he says that his father, Mahmud *Rafiqi*, was his teacher in penmanship and poetry,¹⁸ while Abul Fazl¹⁹ and Muhammad Baqa²⁰ state that he was a pupil of Zain-ud-Din, who, in his turn, was a pupil of 'Ali al-Mashhadi. But in view of the definite statement of a contemporary, I am not inclined to accept the statement of either Abul Fazl or Muhammad Baqa.

Sam Mirza adds that "owing to the disturbed condition of Khurasan, Mir 'Ali retired to *Mawara-un-Nahr* (Transoxiana) in 935 A.H.²¹" where, it is said, he entered the service of 'Ubaidullah Khan

¹⁶ *Tuhfa-i-Sami* (my Ms. copy), fol. 39a.

¹⁷ *Rasm-ul-Khat*, Brit. Mus. Add. 26, 139 (Rieu, i, p. 531 a, b.)

¹⁸ Perhaps his father was responsible for his early training only.

¹⁹ *A'in-i-Akbari*, (Blochmann), Vol. I, p. 102.

²⁰ *Mir'at-ul-'Alam*, (Buhar Ms.), fol. 267a: see also *Majalis-ul-Muminin* (*Majlis* 10) where he is said to be a pupil of both.

²¹ *Tuhfa-i-Sami* (my Ms. copy), fol. 39a.

Tuhfa-i-Sami, Bankipore Ms. No. 683, transcribed in 971 A.H. (i.e., only 18 years after its composition) contains 935 (in words) while the older copy (i.e., No. 682 transcribed 3 years earlier) contains 925 A.H. (in figures, which may be a mistake of the copyist). Of these two dates I am inclined to accept the former. But the British Museum copy of *Tuhfa* (see Rieu, *Pers. Cat.*, p. 531a) contains 945 A.H., which does not appear to be correct, as (i) the copy of a *Majmu'a* transcribed by him at Bukhara in 935 A.H. is in the St. Petersburg library (see Rosen's *Pers. Cat.*, p. 321) while (ii) a *Tarikh* (chronogram) composed by him on the erection of a Madrasah at Bukhara gives 942 A.H. as its date (*Tadh. Khush.*, pp. 51, 52). Hence, we can only conclude that he went to Bukhara before 935 A.H. and not in 945 A.H. as stated by Dr. Rieu. According to *Mir'at-ul-'Alam* (Buhar Ms., fol. 267b) Mir 'Ali went to Bukhara in 920 A.H. and died there in 924.

Uzbek (d. 946 A.H.)²². He is also reported to have been a tutor of Prince Mumin Khan, a son of the Khan²³. Afterwards he entered the service of Sultan 'Abdul 'Aziz of Bukhara (947-957), for whom he transcribed a large number of manuscripts²⁴.

It is usually stated that Mir 'Ali died in 924²⁵, but evidently this date is incorrect as Sultan 'Abdul 'Aziz, whose court calligraphist he was, did not ascend the throne before 947 A.H. Moreover the dates, ranging between 946 and 951, do not appear to be correct as Sam Mirza, who composed his *Tuhfa* in 957 A.H., speaks of him in the present tense. He says, "It is said that now-a-days (i.e., about 957 A.H.) owing to weak eye-sight, his hand-writing is showing signs of decay²⁶." Hence we can only conclude that Mir 'Ali did not die before 957 A.H.

'Ali, besides his accomplishment as a calligrapher, was no mean poet. He wrote verses under the pen-name of *Majnun*²⁷ and, besides a treatise in prose, composed two *Risalas* on the art of calligraphy in verse²⁸.

As a calligraphist, "he brought his art to perfection by imitating the style of Sultan 'Ali of Mashhad. The new method which he established is a proof of his genius²⁹." *Raqim* says that "he gave a

²² *Tadh. Khush.*, p. 50.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

²⁴ A copy of *Matla'-ul-Anwar* of Amir Khusraw (dated 947 A.H.) copied by him at Bukhara for Sultan 'Abdul 'Aziz is in the Bankipore Library ('Abdul Muqtadir, *Pers. Cat.*, i, p. 192). Another copy of Sa'di's *Gulistan* transcribed for the same king, at Bukhara, in 1543 A.D., is in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* (Blochet, *Enl. Ms. Orient.*, pp. 103, 104). Apparently he led a happy life at Bukhara, but a *Qita'*, quoted by *Raqim*, (*Tadh. Khush.*, pp. 49, 50), tells a different tale. In that he complains of lack of patronage and of the monotonous life at Bukhara. He says, in part, that:—

"The Kings of the world seek my service,

But (see the irony of Fate) that in Bukhara my liver has turned into

blood in search of sustenance!

My heart has been consumed due to (pangs of) sorrow,

What should I do? What remedy is there?

As I have no way out of this city!"

According to Qazi Nurulla, however, the cause of this disgust was not the lack of patronage but the difference in faith, as the Mulla was a *Shi'a* while the Khans of Bukhara were orthodox *Sunnis*. But *Raqim* says that he departed from there as the climate did not suit his health (*Tadh. Khush.*, p. 50); but according to Qazi Nurulla he lived in that city up to his last days.

²⁵ *Mirat-ul-'Alam* (Buhar Ms.), fol. 267b.

²⁶ *Tuhfa-i-Sami* (my Ms. copy), fol. 39a.

²⁷ *Riyaz-ush-Shu'ara* (A.S.B.Ms.), fol. 374b; *Habib-us-Siyar*, Vol. iii, Part iii, p. 350.

²⁸ Rieu, *Br. Mus. Pers. Cat.*, ii, pp. 531a, b; 532b.

²⁹ *A'in-i-Akbari* (Blochmann), Vol. i, p. 102.

new colour and fragrance to the garden of calligraphy, and made the brain of the world scented with the aromatic herbs of his fine penmanship³⁰." The Mulla himself, conscious of his excellence as a calligrapher, declares in one of his Quatrains:—

"If you do not know me (it does not matter), for the star Mercury³¹ knows who I am and what my pen can produce!

It will take a thousand years before the garden of Art can produce a rose-flower (of my beauty and excellence)³²."

Qazi Nurulla Shushtri is responsible for the following story which throws some light on the respective merits of Mir 'Ali and Sultan 'Ali al-Mashhadi as Calligraphists. He says:—

"Mulla Mir 'Ali Mashhadi practised Calligraphy with Mulla Zainud-Din and Mulla Sultan 'Ali. After he had perfected himself in penmanship, Mawlana Sultan 'Ali claimed him (as his pupil). The contemporaries also supported the Mawlana. At last Mir 'Ali took three *Qita's* transcribed by the Mawlana and made a copy of them. He brought the copies along with the *Qita's* of the Mawlana. The latter was much perplexed, as he could not recognise his own transcriptions. However, after much hesitation, he selected the *Qita's* transcribed by Mulla Mir 'Ali (as his own)!"³³

We also learn from the same writer that the Mulla died at Bukhara where he was buried near the grave of the well-known Saint Saif-ud-Din Bakharzi. He adds that the sons of the Mulla went to India where they professed the Sunni faith.³⁴

³⁰ *Tadh. Khush.*, pp. 50, 51.

³¹ Mercury ('Utarid) is called the "Scribe of the Sky" and, as such, fine penmanship is attributed to it.

³² *Tadh. Khush.*, p. 53.

³³ *Majalis-ul-Muminin (Mujlis 10)*.

³⁴ For other specimens of his Calligraphy See Blochet, *Enl. Mss. Orient*, pp. 102—105, 120, 128, 156 and Plates LII-LIV; Blochet, *Peintures de Manuscrits Arabes, persans et Turcs de la Bibliotheque Nationale*, p. 3, Plate III; Marteau and Vever, *Mins., Pers.*, Plates XIV, XVII, XXXVI; Kuhnelt and Goetz, *Ind. Book Painting*, pp. 59, 60; Plates 22, 23, 25, 26, 28-30; Rieu, *Brit. Mus. Pers. Cat.*, Nos. 782a, 783a; 785a, 786b; Mehta (N. C.) *Studies in Indian Painting*, pp. 80, 81; Brown (Percy) *Indian Painting Under the Mughals*, Plate LXXII; Clarke, *Ind. Dra. (Jahangir)*, Plate 23; 'Abdul Muqtadir, *Bank. Pers. Cat.*, i, p. 192; ii, pp. 23, 26, 79; xi, pp. 94, 97, 101; Etche and Sachau, *Bodl. Pers. Cat.*, Nos. 589, 737, 816, 863, 1465(?), 1896; Ma'arif, 'Azamgarh, Vol. II, No. 1, p. 41; Loan Exh. *Ant. Delhi Durbar*, 1911, Plate XXVI (f); Martin, *Min. Painting, etc.*, pp. 116, 117, 120, and Plate 121; Rosen (Baron Victor) *Les Manuscrits Persanes de L'Institut de Langues Orientales, Saint Petersbourg*, Nos. 81, 130; Schulz, *Pers.-Isl. Min.*, Plate 116b.

3. An illuminated *Wasli* (Size $8'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$) transcribed by the well-known Calligrapher, Mahmud bin Ishaq ash-Shihabi of Herat. Another remarkable specimen of his Calligraphy is the unique copy of *Diwan-i-Kamran*, preserved in the Oriental Public Library, Patna, bearing the autographs of Jahangir and Shahjahan.³⁵ I have noticed in some detail the life of this Calligrapher in my forthcoming work *Diwan-i-Mirza Kamran* (Persian) and have also referred to the extant specimens of his Calligraphy housed in the various Eastern and Western archives.³⁶ (See Plate II.)

4. A *Wasli* (Size $9\frac{3}{8}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$), written in perfect *Nasta'liq*, within gold-ruled borders, with fine, floral designs. The outer border is decorated with naturalistic flowering plant-motives of the 17th century. The *Wasli* is signed by Mir 'Imad al-Husaini, who flourished under the Safawides and was considered to be the greatest master of *Nasta'liq* calligraphy that ever lived in Persia. "His writing was different from that of other Calligraphers, although he received lessons from Baba Shah at Ispahan, whose manners he first imitated, and Mulla Muhammad Husain, and copied writings of Sultan 'Ali Mashhadi, Mir 'Ali-al-Katib. . . ."³⁷ Mir 'Imad was killed at the instigation of Shah 'Abbas who, it is said, bore a grudge against him on account of his *Sunni* faith, and also because of an act of supposed impertinence on the part of the unfortunate Calligraphist. Mir 'Imad suffered death in 1024 A.H. (A.D. 1615) at the age of 63. When the news of this cold-blooded murder reached Jahangir "he wept for grief and said, 'If Shah 'Abbas had sent him to me I would have paid his weight in pearls for him.'"³⁸ According to Ghulam Muhammad, no one wrote a better hand in *Nasta'liq* than the Mir and he "wrote after the manner of Mulla Mir 'Ali, whose style he perfected and from whose hands he carried away the ball of excellent penmanship." Mir 'Imad received the highest

³⁵ 'Abdul Muqtadir, *Bankipore Pers. Cat.*, ii, pp. 145-156.

³⁶ For his life and other specimens of his Calligraphy, etc. See *A'in-i-Akbari* (Blochmann), i, p. 102; Rieu *Br. Mus. Pers. Cat.*, Suppl., p. 262; Sachau and Ethe, *Bodl. Pers. Cat.*, No. 2033; Huart, *Les Calligraphes et les Miniaturistes de L'Orient musulman*, p. 228; Schulz, *Min. Pers.*, pp. 105, 164 and Plates 124, 125; Blochet, *Enl. Man. Orient.*, pp. 120, 156; Kuhnelt, *Min. Isl. Orient.*, p. 61 and Plate 71; *Bank. Lib. (Intikhab-i-Risala-i-'Abdulla Ansari* (dated 942 A.H.); *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, Vol. II, No. 2, p. 14; Sarre and Martin, *Meist. Muh. Kunst.*, Plate 31(a).

I fear that the identification of Mahmud Shihabi with Khwaja Mahmud Mukhlis (as done in the *Bankipore Catalogue*, Vol. ii, pp. 145, 146) is not correct.

³⁷ Martin (F.R.) *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey*, pp. 121, 122.

³⁸ *Ibid*, p. 122.



A *wasli* transcribed by Mahmud bin Ishaq ash-Shihabi.



A *wasli* transcribed by
Muhammad Husam Al-Kashmiri.



A *wasli* transcribed by
(Mir.) Imad Al-Husaini.

honour that could possibly be conferred upon any scribe. Although the Mir lived under a hostile ruler yet his art received the best appreciation at the courts of distant rulers and princes. The author of *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawisan* says, "The kings of the world were eager to receive specimens of his (Mir 'Imad's) Calligraphy, as, for instance, in the early days of the reign of Shahjahan, whoever brought a specimen of Mir 'Imad's hand-writing was awarded the *Mansab* of a *Sadi* (i.e., Commander of One Hundred)."³⁹

A special interest attaches to this *Qita'* as it was transcribed just a year before 'Imad suffered his cruel death.⁴⁰ It runs as follows:—

ای بر ابرو گرہ افکنده چه حالست ترا گوئی از محبت احباب ولالست ترا
موجب حسن تر نه تذهبا خط و خال افتاد عشق ما نیز ز اسباب جلالست ترا

الفقير الحقير مير عماد الحسيني غفر الله ذنوبه و سائر عيوبه ۱۰۲۳

As it was not possible to give a clear reproduction of this *Wasli*, I have very reluctantly left it out.

5. A *Wasli* (size $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$) written by the same scribe, but less ornamented than the previous one. It has not been mounted on new margins. (See Plate IIIa.)

6. A leaf ($9\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$) apparently from a manuscript copy of the Quatrains of 'Umar Khaiyyam, the famous Astronomer-poet of Persia. The first page contains a fine Persian miniature,⁴¹ (See Plate IV), with a verse from the Quatrains of 'Umar.

³⁹ *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawisan*, p. 93.

⁴⁰ For further particulars of his life, style and specimens of his calligraphy see *Mir'at-ul-'Alam* (Buhar Ms.), fol. 268a; *Tadhkira-i-Tahir Nasrabadi* (Sprenger, *Oudh Catalogue*), p. 89; Schulz, *Min. Persan*, p. 201; Rieu, *British Museum Catalogue*, ii, pp. 519b, 782a, 783a, 784a, 786a, Suppl., p. 261a; 'Abdul Muqtadir, *Bank. Pers. Cat.*, ii, p. 80, xi, pp. 77, 91; Blochet, *Enl. Man. Orient.*, p. 128; Marteau(G) and Vever(H) *Miniatures Persanes*, p. 27, Formes 9 (No. 25) 10(d); Huart, *Call. Min. Orient. musul.*, pp. 239-242; *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission* Vol. ii, p. xxiv; Vol. iv, pp. 106, 107; *Loan Exhibition of Antiquities*, Delhi Darbar, 1911, pp. 68, 70; Far Hasan, *Musl. Call. Del. Mus. Arch.*, pp. 9, 10; *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XIV, p. cclxviii; O'Connor (V.C.) *An Eastern Library*, p. 52; Blochet, *Cat. Mss. Orient. Collec. Schefer* No. 1358; Victoria Memorial Hall, *Illustrated Catalogue*, p. 23 (No. 316), *New Orient*, New York, December 1925; Pertsch(W), *Persischen Handschriften*, Berlin, No. 888.

⁴¹ An exactly similar miniature (without any verses) supposed to have been painted by Riza-i-'Abbasi, has been reproduced by Blochet in his *Enl. de Mans. Orientaux*, Plate LXVII(b). But the miniature before us bears the signature of Khwaja 'Abdus Samad, *Shirin Qalam*, the great painter of the courts of Humayun and Akbar. It is quite possible that the signature may be genuine but the style of painting, its technique, and the drawing of lines lead me to suppose it to be the work of Aqa Riza.

On the reverse we find the following verse completing the Quatrain overleaf, with two additional Quatrains:—

گر خاک مرا کوزه گران کوزه کند آن کوزه پر از شهاب باشد دایم

7. Two leaves ($9" \times 6"$; $5\frac{3}{4}" \times 2\frac{3}{4}"$) from Jami's *Silsilat-udh-Dhabab*, written in perfect *Nasta'liq*. The leaves are finely ornamented and elaborately decorated; the borders, particularly, being illuminated with beautiful designs and foliage in gold. Not dated, apparently 16th Century A.D.

8. An illuminated *Wasli* (size $8" \times 4\frac{3}{4}"$) transcribed by Muhammad Husain Kashmiri, the well-known Calligrapher of the Court of Akbar. According to Abul Fazl, "the artist who, in the shadow of the throne of His Majesty, has become a master of Calligraphy, is Muhammad Husain of Kashmir. He has been honoured with the title of *Zarrin Qalam*, the gold pen. He surpassed his master Maulana 'Abdul 'Aziz; his *maddat* and *dawa'ir* show everywhere a proper proportion to each other and art critics consider him equal to Mulla Mir Ali".⁴² The author of *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawisan* observes:—"He wrote a very fine hand. All the masters (of the Art) and the Calligraphists have acknowledged him as their master."⁴³ He died in 1020 A.H. The *Wasli* is reproduced on Plate IIIb.

9. An ornamented and illuminated *Wasli* ($5" \times 3"$), transcribed by 'Abdur Rahim, *'Ambarin Qalam* (Ambergris-pen), who, according to the author of *Ma'athir-i-Rahimi* (a contemporary biographer), was "an excellent *Nasta'liq* Calligrapher" and that in his days "no one, except Mulla Muhammad Husain Kashmiri excelled him in fine penmanship."⁴⁴ Having left Herat at an early age, he arrived in India to enter the service of that great patron of letters 'Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan, under whose able guidance he made considerable progress in Calligraphy and, as a result, "the fame of his penmanship overtook India

⁴² *A'in-i-Akbari* (Blochmann), i, pp. 102, 103.

⁴³ p. 79. For further details of his life and specimens of calligraphy see, besides the above, *Mir'at-ul-'Alam* (Buhar Ms.), fol. 268a; *Ma'athir-i-Rahimi* by 'Abdul Baqi Nahawandi (A.S.B.Ms.), fol. 752b; Huart, *Call. Min. Mus.*, p. 248, Jackson, *Pers. Mss. Coch. Coll.*, p. 22n; Rosen (V) *Les Manuscrits Persans*, St. Petersburg, p. 324; Sachau and Ethe, *Bod. Pers. Cat.*, Nos. 963, 1086, 1896; O'Connor, *East. Lib.*, pp. 52, 67, 71; Z. Hasan, *Spec. Musl. Call.*, p. 9; 'Abdul Muqtadir, *Bank. Pers. Cat.*, i, p. 198; xi, pp. 92, 103; Clarke (C.S.), *Indian Drawings of the School of Jahangir*, (p. 4), who writes, "Muhammad Husain of Kashmir (d. 1611), the artist to whom the emperor (i.e. Jahangir), as a mark of his great appreciation, presented an Elephant in 1609."

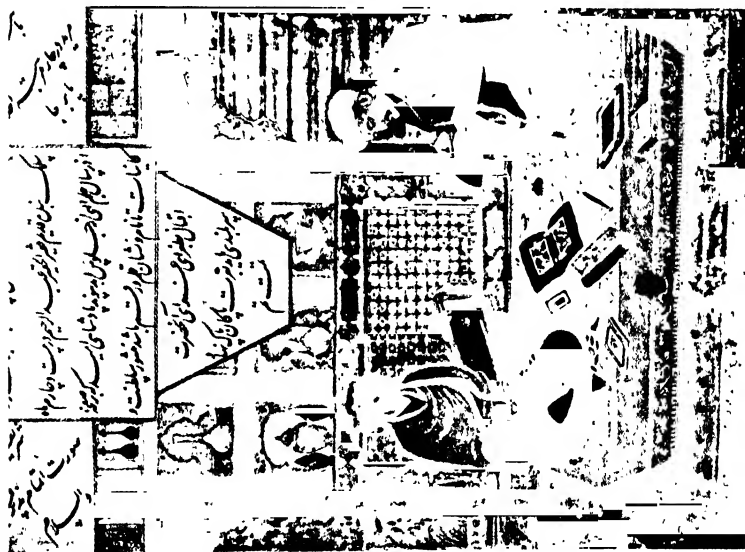
⁴⁴ *Ma'athir-i-Rahimi* (A.S.B.Ms.), fol. 752b.



A page from a Ms. of *Umar Khayyam*, bearing the signature of Khwaja 'Abdus Samad, *Shirin Oalam*.



A *Hasli* transcribed by
Mohan Musafir in 1055 A.H.



Colophon of a Ms. of Nizami's *Khamsa*,
containing the portraits of Abdur Rahim, *Amharin*
Qalam (right) and Shaikh Dawlat Kalan

and that most of the manuscripts in the *Sarkar* (of the Khan Khanan) were in the hand-writing of this 'Wonder of the Time'.⁴⁵ He enjoyed the patronage of the Khan Khanan for a long time and was afterwards presented before the Emperor Akbar, who appointed him as his Court Calligraphist. A copy of the *Khamasa* of Nizami, which was transcribed by 'Abdur Rahim for Akbar, is in the collection of Mr. Dyson Perrins, of London.⁴⁶ The colophon of this splendid manuscript which contains the portraits of Shaikh Daulat Kalan 'an eminent Court Painter' and this Calligraphist is reproduced here (Plate Va). According to Clarke,⁴⁷ the title of '*Ambarin Qalam* was conferred upon him by Jahangir, while Zafar Hasan is responsible for the statement that this title "seems to have been conferred upon him about the year 1022 A.H."⁴⁸ In one of the *Waslis* in the Delhi Museum of Archæology, dated 1022 (1613-14 A.D.), 'Abdur Rahim calls himself *Jahangir Shahi*, i.e., the servant or slave of Jahangir.⁴⁹ The text of the *Wasli* is a prose piece from some Sufistic tract.⁵⁰

10. An ornamented and illuminated *Wasli* ($5\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{4}''$), worm-eaten and torn, by an accomplished scribe who, unfortunately, does not sign his name. But the style of calligraphy and ornamentation, with the word *Allah-u-Akbar* inscribed on its top, leads one to conjecture that it was transcribed by a Calligraphist of the Court of Akbar. The words *بكتبه المذنب* i.e., "by the scribe, the sinner," show, that the verses, written on the *Wasli*, were composed by the Calligraphist himself. I quote the last verse of the *Ghazal* in order to enable some industrious scholar to find out the name of its author and, incidentally, of the scribe also:—

درون دیدۀ من اندر آ که تا گویم همیشه باد طربختـانم تماشا ایم

11. A *Wasli* (Size $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$) transcribed by 'Abdur Rashid ad-Daylami, a nephew of the famous Mir 'Imad and one of the Court

⁴⁵ *Ma'athir-i-Rahimi* (A. S. B. Ms.), fol. 752b.

⁴⁶ Brown (Percy) *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, Plate XVIII; Martin, *Miniature Painting*, etc., p. 86.

⁴⁷ *Indian Drawings of the School of Jahangir*, Plate 17 (No. 26).

⁴⁸ *Spec. Musl. Cat. Del. Mus. Arch.* p. 10 (No. 37).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* p. 10 (No. 37).

⁵⁰ For other particulars of his life and specimens of his calligraphy see, besides the authorities quoted above, *Maqalat-i-Shibli*, Vol. 1, pp. 142, 143. *Ma'arif*, 'Azamgarh, Vol. XIV (No. 5) p. 348; Huart, *Call. Min. Mus.*, p. 256; Sachau and Ethe, *Bodl. Pers. Cat.*, Nos. 1898, 1899; Rieu, *Br. Mus. Pers. Cat.*, ii, p. 783a; 'Abdul Muqtadir, *Bank. Pers. Cat.*, xi, p. 96; Blochet, *Enl. Man. Or.*, p. 156.

Calligraphers of Shahjahan. According to *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawisan*,⁵¹ the Aqa repaired, after the murder of Mir 'Imad, to the court of Shahjahan, where he was appointed to teach calligraphy to Dara Shikuh, the heir-apparent to the throne. According to the same work Aqa Rashid was "the Prophet of Calligraphy", while the author of *Mirat-ul-'Alam*⁵² says that "in *Nasta'liq* Calligraphy he (*i.e.*, the Aqa) had the pen of Mani". It appears that Shahjahan, himself an accomplished Calligrapher, showered innumerable bounties on the Aqa, who lived in affluence at Agra "where he had palatial buildings, inns and *Carvansarais*".⁵³ The Aqa continued his *mashq* to a very old age and, at last, prayed for permission to retire and return to Persia, but, perhaps, he was prevailed upon to live in the land of his adoption. His death took place in 1081—the year in which the great *Sa'ib* passed away.⁵⁴

Aqa Rashid is considered the last great Calligrapher of *Nasta'liq* and, indeed, with him ended the long line of *Nasta'liq* Calligraphists, beginning with Mir 'Ali of Tabriz. Specimens of Aqa Rashid's penmanship are common in India and elsewhere, but it must be pointed out here that some of the specimens usually considered to be genuine are hardly so.⁵⁵

12. A *Wasli* ($9\frac{1}{4} \times 6$), nicely ornamented with foliage in various colours, transcribed by Saiyyid 'Ali Khan, *Jawahir Raqam*, of Tabriz.

⁵¹ p. 95.

⁵² Buhar Ms. fol. 269a.

⁵³ *Tadh. Khush.*, p. 95.

⁵⁴ For an elegy composed on the death of Aqa Rashid and *Sa'ib* by Mulla Ashraf see *Tadh. Khush.*, pp. 96-98.

⁵⁵ For further particulars of the life and the specimens of his penmanship see, besides the above, *Ma'athir-ul-Umara*, Vol. I, p. 486; J.A.S.B., Vol. XIV, *Persian Notes*, Nos. 104, 313; Rieu Brit. Mus. Pers. Cat., ii, p. 786b, Suppl., pp. 261a, 262a; Marteau and Vever, *Min. Pers.*, Forme 9 (No. 32); O'Connor, *East. Lib.*, p. 53; Clarke, *Ind. Dr. Sch. Jahangir*, p. 4, Plate 22; *Proc. Ind. Hist. Rec. Comm.*, ii, p. xxiv; iv, pp. 106, 107; viii, p. 260; Z. Hasan, *Spec. Musl. Call.*, p. 11; Sachau and Ethe, *Bodl. Pers. Cat.*, Nos. 1064, 1068, 1897; 'Abdul Muqtadir, *Bank. Pers. Cat.*, xi, pp. 90, 92, 98; Clarke, *Ind. Dr.*, Plate 22, writes that the Aqa's "petition, in writing to the emperor Shahjahan, asking permission to retire from service and to live either at Agra or Delhi, is now in the collection Muhammad Zahir-ud-Din Khan of Delhi." The painting on the back of which this petition is pasted—has been reproduced in the *Loan Exhibition of Antiquities*, Delhi Durbar, 1911, Plate XXXVI (b). Another petition addressed to the same emperor is in the collection of Mawlawi Abu'l Hasan Haqqani of Delhi (See *Jadu*, Dacca, Vol. iii, No. 12, p. 9, where the text of the petition is given). A *Wasli* written by Aqa Rashid, with his portrait on its back, is in the collection of Mawlawi Khalil-ud-Din Ahmad, Benares (*Jadu*, iii, No. 12, p. 11). A copy of *Haft Band* of Mulla Kashi, transcribed by the Aqa was in the possession of Hafiz Nurulla of Lucknow (see No. 19).

According to the author of *Mir'at-ul-'Alam*,⁵⁶ he came down to India in the reign of Shahjahan who conferred upon him the title of *Jawahir Raqam* and appointed him to teach calligraphy to Aurangzib. But the author of *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawisan*⁵⁷ says that Saiyyid 'Ali al-Husaini arrived in India towards the early part of the reign of Aurangzib, by whom he was appointed to teach the art of penmanship to his sons. Whoever of the above authors be correct, this much is certain that the Saiyyid achieved fame under Aurangzib, "whom he accompanied in (his trip to) Kashmir and the (campaigns in the) Deccan." He also held the office of the Royal librarian.⁵⁸ It is said that he could not make much headway during the life-time of Aqa 'Abdur Rashid, but after the passing away of that great Calligrapher in 1081 A.H., he rose to the highest position as a Calligraphist. He wrote after the styles of Mir 'Imad and Aqa Rashid, and when asked as to whose style he usually imitated, he acknowledged in all humility that "one day I copy from the writing of Mir 'Imad, and the next day from that of Aqa 'Abdur Rashid ad-Daylami".⁵⁹ He was a close friend of the Aqa, for whom he had the sincerest regard. Unfortunately, towards the last days of his life he developed signs of insanity of which he died in the Deccan in 1094 A.H.⁶⁰ His remains were brought to Delhi and interred there. Of his pupils Saiyyid Hidayitulla, *Zarrin Raqam*, achieved great fame and, according to some, even surpassed his master.

The *Wasli*, which bears the date 178 (probably 1078), appears to have been transcribed for the emperor Aurangzib—

تو در سیاحت پادشاهی خویش سبق بردی از پادشاهان پیش
درونت بتائید حق شاد باد دل و دین و اقلیمت آباد باد

ذرة احقر سيد علي جواهر رقم ۱۷۸

13. A *Wasli* ($6\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$) written on gold-sprinkled paper, surrounded by a blue margin ornamented with gold, by Mir Muhammad

⁵⁶ Buhar Ms., fol. 269a.

⁵⁷ p. 57.

⁵⁸ *Mir'at-ul-'Alam* (Buhar Ms.), fol. 269a; *Tadh. Khush.*, p. 57. A copy of Wahshi's *Farhad-va-Shirin* (see No. 2 *infra*) bears the seal of Sayyid 'Ali. It runs as follows:—
"Sayyid 'Ali al-Husaini, a *murid* of 'Alamgir Padshah."

⁵⁹ *Tadh. Khush.*, p. 57.

⁶⁰ *Tadh. Khush.*, p. 58. For further details and specimens of his calligraphy see Zahir Hasan, *Musi. Call.*, p. 11 No. 40; 'Abdul Muqtadir, *Bank. Pers. Cat.*, xi, pp. 91, 94; Rieu, *Br. Mus. Pers. Cat.*, ii, pp. 782b, 783a, O'Connor, *Eastern Lib.*, p. 53; *Hand-list of the 'Asifiya Library*, Hyderabad, Nos. 281, 286.

Kazim, son of *Jawahir Raqam*. As there have been more than one *Jawahir Raqam*, it is difficult to say whose son he was.⁶¹ The text runs as follows:—

آفتابی تو و منم ذره از ره تربیت مرا بردار
زانکه از ذره پروری هرگز نکند آفتاب تابان عار

کتبه میر محمد کاظم ابن جواهر رقم

14. A leaf ($5 \times 3\frac{3}{4}$) from the *Diwan* of Amir *Shahi* (d. 857 A.H.), containing interlinear decorations in gold and beautiful flowers, painted in various colours, in the space between the first and the second hemistiches. Not dated, apparently 18th century.

15. A *Wasli* (size $10\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$) transcribed by a Hindu scribe who signs his name as Mohan Musafir (*i.e.*, Mohan, the traveller). It is dated 1088 A.H. (See Plate Vb).

16. A *Wasli* (size $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4$) transcribed by one Muhammad 'Abbas, who does not give any date.⁶²

17. A *Wasli* (size $18\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$) transcribed by one Saiyyid 'Ali Riza, who does not give any date. It runs as follows:—

درخت غنچه بر آرد و بلبلان مستند جهان جوان شد و یاران بعیش بنشینند
بساط سبز و لکد کوب بپای نشاط ز بسکه عارف و عامی برقص بر بستند
کتبه سید علی رضا

18. A *Wash* (size $8\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{8}$) transcribed by Muhammad Afzal in 1143 A.H. Muhammad Afzal, who belonged to the *Qadiri* order and was an inhabitant of Lahore; was a skilled Calligraphist, and, on account of his excellence as a penman he received the title of the second Aqa, *i.e.*, the second 'Abdur Rashid ad-Daylami.⁶³

19. A *Wasli* (size $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5$) which is a *mashq* or draft page only, and bears the name of Muhammad A'zam, the second son of Aurangzib. In the text we also find the name of (Saiyyid 'Ali Khan)

⁶¹ In *Tadh. Khush.* (p. 58) mention is made of one of the sons of *Jawahir Raqam*, called Shamsuddin 'Ali Khan.

⁶² For other specimens of his calligraphy see Z. Hasan, *Musl. Call.*, p. 16 (No. 87); 'Abdul Muqtadir, *Bank. Cat.*, xi, pp. 92, 94.

⁶³ *Tadh. Khush.*, p. 60. For other specimens of his penmanship see Sachau and Ethe, *Bodl. Pers. Cat.*, No. 1896; *Proc. Ind. Hist. Comm.*, iv, p. 106; Z. Hasan, *Musl. Call.*, p. 14 (No. 56).

Jawahir Raqam (See No. 12, above). I think that the *Wasli* is in the hand-writing of Muhammad A'zam,⁶⁴ who has perhaps copied it from the original of his master—the *Jawahir Raqam*.

20. A *Wasli* ($8\frac{1}{2} \times 5$) adorned with gold and mounted on blue margin containing foliage in gold, transcribed by one Muhammad Sadiq.

There have been several scribes of this name. Of these (i) Nawwab Murid Khan, Muhammad Sadiq, an Amir of the Court of Muhammad Shah (1131-1161),⁶⁵ and (ii) Muhammad Sadiq of the reign of Aurangzib, in whose hand-writing a *Bayaz*, dated 1082 A.H., is preserved in the Delhi Museum of Archæology⁶⁶ and (iii) Muhammad Sadiq, who lived at Delhi in 1203 A.H.,⁶⁷ are known to us. But in view of the fact that the specimen before us does not bear any date, it is difficult to ascribe it to any one of the above. However, having regard to the style of calligraphy and ornamentation; I am inclined to think that it belongs to a Calligraphist of the later 18th or early 19th century A.D.⁶⁸

The *Wasli*, which contains a Quatrain composed by the Calligraphist himself, runs as follows:—

مبارک باد این عید صیامت بچاہ وحشمت و عز و کرامت
دعا دارد بدل صادق شب و روز ہمیشہ باد عز و احترامت
کتبہ محمد صادق

21. A *Wasli* ($6\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$), embellished with gold, transcribed by Hafiz Nurulla who enjoyed the patronage of Nawwab Asif-ud-Dawlah of Oudh (1180-1200 A.H.). It is said that the Hafiz was a devoted student of the art of Aqa Rashid whose style he imitated to perfection. *Raqim*, who met him about 1788 A.D., says that "no one has imitated the style of Aqa 'Abdur Rashid better than this gentleman," and that "about this time (i.e., 1788 A.D.) he had transcribed, at the instance of Nawwab Asif-ud-Dawlah, a copy of *Haft Band* of

⁶⁴ Another *Wasli* transcribed by the same prince is in the collection of Mr. Bahadur Singh Singhi of Calcutta (*Proc. Ind. Hist. Rec. Comm.*), v, p. 161.

⁶⁵ *Tadh. Khush.*, p. 107.

⁶⁶ Zafar Hasan, *Musl. Call.*, p. 13 (No. 51).

⁶⁷ 'Abdul Muqtadir, *Bank. Pers. Cat.*, i, p. 141.

⁶⁸ For other specimens bearing the signature of Muhammad Sadiq see Marteau and Vever, *Min. Pers.*, Forme 9 (No. 39); Rieu *Br. Mus. Pers. Cat.*, ii, 784b (dated 1102 A.H.); 'Abdul Muqtadir, *Bank. Pers. Cat.*, xi, p. 97; Sachau and Etche, *Bodl. Pers. Cat.*, No. 1897.

Mulla Kashi from the original of the Aqa. This (transcription) was, indeed, the writing of magic. Verily, it was a spring-garden. The beholder was hardly tired of looking at it."⁶⁹ His son Hafiz Ibrahim,⁷⁰ who held the post of instructor to the children of Akbar II (1221-1253 A.H.) and the grandson, Hafiz Baqaulla,⁷¹ who was also a tutor of the princes, were accomplished Calligraphers.

The text is as follows⁷²:—

سر سجد در تو دارم دل شکسته بر تو دارم
 ز من چه پرسی سر که داری سر تو دارم سر تو دارم
 احقر عباد الله ابن حافظ نور الله

22. A *Wasli* ($9\frac{3}{4} \times 9$) transcribed by one Kamaluddin, who calls himself the grandson of Hafiz Nurulla. Dated 1210 A.H.

23. A *Wasli* ($10\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$) transcribed by one Saiyyid 'Ali Shir in 1283 A.H.

(B.) MANUSCRIPTS.

1. Leaves from an old, illustrated copy of the *Shahnama*. The text is in learned, running *Naskh*, possessing peculiarities of archaic Persian orthography. The miniatures are in the old Mongol style and closely related to the pottery of Rhages, and also to the famous *Hariri* Manuscript preserved in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*.⁷³ I think that the manuscript belongs to the 13th century A.D. and is undoubtedly among the oldest copies of the *Shahnama*.⁷⁴ As Mr. Ghosh proposes to publish a detailed description of the leaves in the *Burlington Magazine*, I refrain from giving any further detail.

⁶⁹ *Tadh. Khush.*, p. 64.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 68, 111.

⁷¹ *Ibid*, p. 68.

⁷² For other specimens of Hafiz Nurulla's Calligraphy See Zafar Hasan, *Musl. Call.*, p. 14 (Nos. 55, 62); 'Abdul Muqtadir, *Bank. Pers. Cat.*, ix, Nos. 783, 784; xi, pp. 92, 97.

⁷³ For reproductions of its pages see Martin, *Min. Paint. Painters*. Plates 9-12; Kuhnelt, *Islam. Min.*, Plates 12, 13; Blochet, *Enl. Man. Orient.*, Plates II-V.

⁷⁴ A copy of the *Shahnama* resembling the above in Calligraphy and the style of painting but of a later date, is noticed by Biermann in *Jahrbuch der Asiatischen Kunst*, 1925.

After the above was in type, Mr. Ghosh showed me a letter, which he had just received from M. Blochet of the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, containing the following appreciation of Mr. Ghosh's *Shahnama*:—

"It is very curious that we have nothing like it. I think that this copy was made in the west of Persia about 600 *Hijra*. The oldest copy of the *Shahnama* which we possess is dated about 830 *Hijra*."



2. A splendid copy of Wahshi's *Farhad wa-Shirin*, (Fol. 34), noted for its superb calligraphy, excellent decoration and ornamentation, and beautiful leather binding, heavily embossed with gold. The manuscript was transcribed by the famous Muhammad Husain of Tabriz⁷⁵ at the instance of Shah Tahmasp (1524-1576 A.D.), the great Sawafide ruler of Persia. It has a fine and elaborately decorated *Unwan* with ornamented caption-bands. A feature of the manuscript is the delicate marginal gold decoration, with varied designs of animals, birds and flowers, with a finely drawn miniature by some accomplished painter of the court of Shah Tahmasp. The fly-leaf contains the seals of Shahjahan, Aurangzib and others. I propose to give a detailed description of the manuscript in a later issue of this Review. (See Plate VI).

3. A very valuable copy of Nizami's *Khamasa* (11 × 6½; 7¼ × 4) containing twenty-eight miniatures in the best Persian style. The manuscript was transcribed in 928 A.H. by Yar Muhammad al-Harawi, an accomplished calligrapher.⁷⁶ The colophon, which is in verse and was composed by the calligraphist himself runs as follows:—

لکاتبه

چون بدست من کتابت شد تمام این خمسة را

دل بمن گفت: که تاریخ تماشا از کی است

گفتمش چون هست اکبر را بنظم خمسة میل

خمسۂ اکبر حسابش کن که تاریخ وی است⁷⁷

کذبہ العبد الراجی الی رحمۃ اللہ الصمد القوی یار محمد الهروی غفر اللہ

ذنبہ و ستر عیوبہ •

The manuscript opens with a richly illuminated title-piece, followed by beautiful vignettes at the beginning of every new book.

⁷⁵ For his life and specimens of his calligraphy see '*Alam Ara-i-'Abbasi* (Buhar Ms.), fol. 45b; '*A'in-i-Akbari* (Blochmann), i, p. 102n 8; '*Mir'at-ul-'Alam* (Buhar Ms.), fol. 269a; '*Tadhkira-i-Khushnawisan*, p. 26; Huart, *Call. Min. Mus.*, p. 237; Sachau and Ethe, *Bod. Pers. Cat.*, Nos. 1895, 1897, 1898; Rieu, *Brit. Mus. Pers. Cat.*, ii, p. 783a, 785a; Marteau and Vever, *Min. Pers.*, *Forme* 8, No. 17; Z. Hasan, *Musl. Call.*, p. 9 (No. 33).

⁷⁶ Mr. A. Ghosh has identified him with the famous painter Muhammad of Herat,

⁷⁷ The Chronogram *Khamasa-i-Akbar* gives us 928 A.H.

The paintings usually occupy three-fourths of a page and are remarkable for the fineness of colour and execution. As specimens of the Persian Art of the early sixteenth century, A.D., the miniatures are of particular value and interest. (See Plate VII reproduced in colours by courtesy of *Calcutta Review*).

4. Another copy of Nizami's *Khamisa* (11×6 ; $7\frac{3}{4} \times 4$) containing sixteen miniatures in the finest Persian style of the early 16th century A.D. The first two pages are elaborately decorated in the best style of that century; the vignettes and captions also are very handsome.

The paintings are as fine and beautiful as in the previous manuscript, but the calligraphy is undoubtedly of a superior quality. The colophon does not contain either the name of the scribe or the date of transcription; but some mischievous person has added the name of " 'Ali (al)-Katib " as that of the scribe and " 907 A.H. " as the date of transcription, which is evidently a crude forgery. The fly-leaf contains the seal of Akbar and a number of other seals of Mughal emperors and their librarians. Mr. Ghosh proposes to describe in a subsequent issue of this Review the artistic features of the two Nizami manuscripts in his collection.

5. An illustrated copy of Hilali's (d. 939 A.H.) well-known Masnawi *Sifat-ul-'Ashiqin* (Fol. 46; $9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$; $5\frac{1}{2} \times 3$) transcribed by the famous painter and Calligraphist Shah Qasim of Persia.⁷⁸ The manuscript is written in beautiful *Nasta'liq* and contains four exquisite miniatures of the School of Bihzad. It appears from the colophon that the

⁷⁸ There are, at least, four well-known painters who bore the name of Qasim. Of them (1) Shah Qasim of Tabriz was taken away by Sulaiman, the Magnificent, to Constantinople, where he died, as stated by Huart, in 909 A.H. (*Call. Min.*, pp. 99, 100). But this date is evidently wrong as Sulaiman was only 9 years old in 909 A.H. Next, (2) Ustad Malik Muhammad Qasim, called Qasim b. Shah Shadi of Iraq or Shiraz, " was a master of Calligraphy, poetry and miniature painting and is celebrated all over the civilised world for his arabesques. He died in 947 (A.D. 1540) " (Martin, *Min. Paint.*, p. 118). The other (3) Muhammad Qasim of Isfahan (Schulz, *Pers.-Isl. Min.*, pp. 192, 203) flourished about A.D. 1700. He was also a good Calligraphist and (4) Shah Qasim who, as judged from his extant works, appears to have flourished between 980 and 1035 A.H., and in whose hand-writing exists, besides other works, a copy of Nizami's *Khamisa*, (transcribed between 1013 and 1036 A.H.) in the collection of Dr. Schulz. (See Schulz, *Pers. Isl. Min. Tafels* 87, 88; Martin, *Min. Paint.*, p. 124; Kuhnelt, *Isl. Min.*, Plate 90).

Of the above four painters and Calligraphists, I am inclined to identify our Shah Qasim with No. 4 of the above list. But my only difficulty is that the style of painting does not appear to be so late as the 11th century A.H. But it is quite possible that they may be among his earliest works. I may mention here that a copy of this very poet's (i.e. Hilali's) *Shah-u-Gada*, transcribed by one Qasim in 989 A.H., is in the Bodleian Library. (Sachau and Ethe, *Pers. Cat.* No. 1023.) Is it that Shah Qasim, the



A page from the Khamsa of Nizami, dated 928 A. H. (1521 A. D.).

manuscript was transcribed in the library of his patron whom he calls *Nawwab-i-Kamyab* (probably Shah 'Abbas, 996-1038). The colophon runs as follows:—

در کتابخانه نواب کامیاب جهانبانی صورت تحریر یافت فی تاریخ شهر جمادی
الاول ۷۹ کتبه شاه فاسم غفر الله ذنبه •

6. A nice little copy of *Risala-i-'Abdullah Ansari*, (Fol. 14; 8×5 ; $5\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$), written on roe-skin by one Shaikh Sultan, who, although a little-known scribe, was, nevertheless, an expert and experienced Calligraphist. The manuscript is a fine specimen of superb calligraphy, and excellent ornamentation and decoration. The beautiful 'Unwan, with gold and blue as the predominating colour, is followed by the text itself which is interlineated throughout in gold and contains delicate, foliated design in blue, orange and green.

The fly-leaf contains the seal of Raja Jai Singh servant of Shah Ghazi Muhammad Rafi'-ud-Darajat, 1131 A.H. (1719 A.D.).

7. An incomplete copy of *Diwan-i-Hafiz* ($6\frac{1}{2} \times 4$; $5 \times 2\frac{3}{4}$) written in good, clear *Nasta'liq*. The manuscript is well-decorated and ornamented throughout and contains 5 miniatures in ordinary Persian style. The Calligraphy and the technique and colours employed in decorating the manuscript show that the manuscript was prepared during the days of the decadence of the Persian Art.

Not dated, apparently early 19th century A.D.

6. SHAFI'A.

1. A *Wasli* ($10 \times 5\frac{3}{4}$), with decorations on the margin, dated 1251 A.D. It was, probably written at Lucknow and presented to some Begam of the Nawwab's family. The scribe does not sign his name nor does he give the name of the Begam.

7. SHIKASTA.

1. A *Wasli* ($7\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$), ornamented with floral designs on the margin and transcribed by Mir 'Ali Naqi, the well-known master of

transcriber of Mr. Ghosh's copy of Hilali's *Sifat-ul-'Ashiqin* also transcribed the poet's *Shah-u-Gada* in the Bodleian Library? Perhaps the conjecture does not appear to be fantastic. But, I would like to add that, unless the original works of the above-mentioned painters and calligraphists are before me, I am reluctant to pronounce any definite opinion as to the identity of our Shah Qasim with any of the above four.

⁷⁹ Some mischievous person has removed the date and substituted, 890 A. H.

Shikasta who flourished in the 18th century A.D. He was a nephew and pupil of Mir Ghulam 'Ali, a reputed *Shikasta* Calligrapher, whom he surpassed. According to the author of *Tadhkira-i-Khushnawisan*, his calligraphy was so fine, charming and attractive that no *Shikasta*-writer could compete with him. Indeed, "he turned *Shikasta* into *Nasta'liq*. He wrote *Shikasta* in several styles in all of which he acquitted himself very well" (pp. 100, 110).

2. A *Wasli* ($6\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$), dated 1st Jumada I, 1173 A.H., transcribed by the same.

3. A *Wasli* ($7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$), by the same.

4. A *Wasli* (9×5), with delicate floral designs in light blue and green. (Without date or name of the scribe.)

5. A *Wasli* ($7\frac{1}{4} \times 5$) with marginal decorations in gold, by an unknown scribe.

6. 13 *Waslis*, written either within gold margins or dark blue borders, by an unknown scribe.

7. A *Wasli* ($8\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$), written on gold-sprinkled paper by an unknown scribe.

8. A *Wasli* (8×4) transcribed by Muhammad Jalil al-Husaini in 1197 A.H.

M. MAHFUZ-UL HAQ.

THE INDIAN MUSEUM.¹

Little did the great Oriental Scholar and Linguist, Sir William Jones, think, when he laid the foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in Calcutta in 1784, that in the course of time it would assume such proportions and that eventually out of it—with the steady progress of learning and science in India—another institution would arise in the shape of the Indian Museum, which in point of usefulness and magnitude would cast its progenitor in the shade.

At first the Asiatic Society had no permanent dwelling of its own. As the many relics and curiosities sent by men interested in its growth began to accumulate, the want of a suitable repository for their preservation began to be seriously felt, and ultimately the Government of India made a free gift of a suitable piece of land, between Park Street and Chowringhee for the construction of a building for the Society.

The question of the storage and preservation of the various curiosities came up before the Society as early as 1796. Matters came to a head when in February, 1814, Dr. Nathaniel Wallish, a Danish botanist, strongly urged upon the Society the formation of a Museum in Calcutta, and held out the assurance of his own active and whole-hearted co-operation in the matter. The members of the Society resolved to establish a Museum in the Society's premises, divided into two sections, *viz.*, the archæological, ethnological and technical section and the geological and zoological section.

In 1835 the attention of the Government of India was directed towards the development of the mineral resources of the country, owing to the satisfactory working of the Ranigunge Coal Mines. In 1840 they began to contemplate the opening of a Museum of Economic Geological collections in the Society's rooms.

Up to 1856 this Museum for specimens of Economic Geology continued to occupy the premises of the Society. In that year, however, the portion of the collection which was owned by the Government of India was removed to No. 1, Hastings Street in connection with the Geological Survey of India at that time inaugurated.

In 1858 the members of the Society submitted a proposal to the Government of India "for the foundation of an Imperial Museum in the metropolis, to which the whole of the Society's collections except the library might be transferred." The Government of India could not accede to the Society's request on the grounds of economy. This answer did not satisfy the Society and the members decided to memorialize the Secretary of State for India direct.

As a result of the correspondence between the Asiatic Society and the Government, which lasted till the middle of 1865, it was arranged that the zoological, geological and archæological collections of the Asiatic Society should be transferred to the Board of Trustees for the proposed Museum and that the Government should provide accommodation for the Society in the Museum Building. Later on the Society changed its mind about shifting to the Museum Building and received compensation from Government for giving up its right in that building. The Indian Museum Act of 1866 accorded legislative sanction to the transfer.

The impressive building in which the Museum is now accommodated was designed by Mr. Walter Granville, and was completed in 1875 at a cost of Rs. 1,40,000.

This, in brief, is the history of the Institution which stands as a lasting memorial to the ungrudging efforts of a few scientists and educationists, who devoted their all in order that others might benefit in the years to be.

I shall now review briefly the various collections of the Museum and shall endeavour to give you an idea of the contents of the five principal sections, *viz.* the Archæological, the Art, the Geological, the Industrial and the Zoological.

The Archæological collection of the Indian Museum is the richest in the East. During the last few years the specimens of this section have been arranged in chronological order. In the entrance hall of the Museum you will find exhibited the capitals of the columns of Asoka, which date back to about the middle of the third century B. C. In the adjoining room you will find the sculptures of the second and first centuries B. C. Prominent among these exhibits are the pillars, crossbars and coping stones of the ground railings of the Stupa of Bharhut. These stones bear illustrations depicting various incidents in the life of the Buddha. Next to these constructed railings of Bharhut comes the railing of Bodhgaya, consisting of the original casts dating from about 100 B. C. and showing the great progress made in the plastic art in ancient India. When the Gandhara Gallery is reached it will be

noticed what the new school of Buddhistic Art had accomplished in the North-Western Frontier of India under Greek influence. In what is known as the Gupta Gallery are arranged Indian Sculptures of different epochs and schools from the beginning of the Christian era down to the thirteenth century A.D. Before you come to the next section, I must refer, however briefly, to a few other items of absorbing interest in this department. I should like you to give your particular attention to the exhibits which have come, not very long ago, from the excavations at Mohenjodaro in Sind. These exhibits are said to be about 4,000 years old, and according to expert opinion are destined to unfold the history of civilization. This reminds me of the story of the lady who said to a distinguished archæologist: "And these cities and things which you so laboriously exhume, can they be used again?" We have got in this section an Egyptian mummy which is older than Tutankhamen, but younger than perhaps many of the living mummies we come across in Calcutta. We possess an unique collection of coins in the Museum, which would take several hours to describe. The Moslem Gallery, which has not yet been completed, contains Arabic and Persian inscriptions, and specimens showing the decorative art of the Mussalmans. Recently we have received, for exhibition, two historic Mughal jewels which formed part of the loot of Nadir Shah, when he invaded India and defeated the army of Muhammad Shah, the reigning Mughal Emperor, in February, 1739. These jewels consist of an emerald bowring and an emerald cup which were made at Delhi about 1650 A.D. for the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan. The bow-ring was meant to protect the joint and ball of the thumb of the left hand when shooting an arrow, while the cup was intended as a dainty receptacle for *attar* for the Queen's toilette.

The galleries of the Geological section are divided into four groups, Invertebrate fossils, Minerals, Meteorites and Vertebrate fossils.

The Fossil Gallery contains Indian fossils arranged in chronological order in the table cases, while foreign invertebrates and plant fossils (types) are to be found in the wall-cases arranged according to botanical and zoological orders. There are two petrified trees, excavated from railway cuttings near Asansol, to which your special attention is drawn because of their remarkable antiquity. They belong to the same age as the Indian coal-bearing seams, and according to the latest computation by experts are said to be at least two hundred million years old. Radio-active minerals are also exhibited here. Economic minerals, namely, mica, rock-salt, china-clay, asbestos, mineral oils and ores of various metals are arranged in the wall-cases in this gallery.

The Meteorite Gallery contains an unique collection of Indian and foreign meteorites, scientifically arranged. There are here maps, sections of coal-fields and a model of a volcano. Indian Manganese minerals are also exhibited in this room.

The Siwalik Gallery contains the skulls and limb-bones of the now extinct ancestor of the Indian elephant, and specimens of *Sivapithecus*—the missing link between man and ape.

Let us turn to the Zoological Section. The galleries in the Indian Museum under the Zoological Survey of India at the present moment are a very extensive and up-to-date invertebrate gallery, excluding the insects and the spider species, and a small ante-room containing the latter generally known as the Insect gallery. Both these galleries are on the ground-floor of the Museum. On the first floor there are the vertebrate galleries, four in number. One is a small Fish gallery, where you will find fishes of all descriptions. The others are the Amphibian, Reptilian and Bird gallery, the large Mammal gallery and the small Mammal gallery. In each of these galleries there are extensive representative forms of almost all types of animals found within Indian limits, and only in special cases peculiar animals not found in India are exhibited for a complete survey of the Animal Kingdom of the World.

The Reserve collections are very extensive and of far greater magnitude than those exhibited in the public galleries. They are not open to the lay public, but all serious students of natural history can have free access to them and can examine them for any scientific work on which they may be engaged. There is unfortunately very little space for the storage of these valuable collections and the place is already badly overcrowded. Another very serious point in this connection is the fate of all these collections, most of which, preserved in rectified spirits of wine, are stored in the main building of the Museum in rooms which are not fire-proof. Naturally such collections are a source of serious danger to the Museum as a whole. A scheme for the erection of a fireproof spirit building for these collections is under the consideration of the Government of India, and it is hoped that with the erection of this building the question of the safety of the Museum as also the provision of space for its expansion will be solved.

The Zoological Survey of India is also the custodian of the very extensive, though heterogeneous, collections in the so called ethnological gallery. These collections are unfortunately much in need of attention; there is practically no room for labels; and additional space is necessary for the proper exhibition of the stuff now displayed in the show-cases of this gallery.

The Industrial Section, as it exists to-day, mainly consists of raw-materials and finished products of the vegetable world, though there are exhibits of some miscellaneous objects not strictly belonging to the plant kingdom. To mention only a few among this notable collection, there are the interesting exhibits of about one hundred varieties of paddy as cultivated in Assam and Bengal, also edible fruits, mostly preserved in liquids, from different parts of India, as well as food grains, cereals and various kinds of pulses. The process of manufacture of quinine from cinchona bark, and the opium plant with all the implements used for extracting opium in different provinces are prominently exhibited.

All kinds of fibres showing the stages from the raw materials obtained from the plant to the finished products, either of clothing, cordage, gunnies, carpets, and so on, or to the making of which these fibres are utilised, are also exhibited.

A small room is devoted to tea where the machinery for drying, curing, and manufacturing tea, is exhibited.

The Art Gallery baffles description. It is a regular feast for the eyes and a pageant royal of oriental splendour. I would particularly draw your attention to some of the noteworthy objects on view. There is the large Tibetan Banner of applique work from Burma, displayed just at the entrance of the Art Gallery. It is known in Burma as the Kalasa, and is used to decorate the house on festive occasions or to partition off a portion of it for a guest. It also forms a gay roof covering for the bullock cart when the family travels to one of the large pagoda feasts. Then there is the white muslin *chapkan*, very finely embroidered in gold, said to have been worn by Emperor Aurangzeb and given as a reward to one of his attendants after victory in some battle. The Bhavnagar House, which you will see in this section, is the accurate and faithful reproduction in wood of a Rajput Chief's palace in Kathiawar. It is a very good specimen of a purely Hindu style of wood carving. The State Council throne of King Thaibaw from Burma, presented to the Museum by His Excellency Lord Curzon, is a marvel of Burmese art. A carved shrine of ivory with the figure of the Buddha and two of his disciples surrounded by other figures, is worth seeing. A necklace and girdle made from a human thigh-bone, worn by the Lamas from Tibet, is one of the many interesting exhibits of this section. The model of the Taj, made of ivory, is an excellent piece of workmanship. There is a fine screen carved out of stone in front of the room in which are housed the exhibits collected by Lord Carmichael during his stay in Bengal. This section possesses fine

examples of filigree work. It is a curious fact that children of eight and nine years of age, whose powerful eyesight and nimble fingers are a great help to this work, turn out these exquisitely fine samples under the instruction of their masters. The collection of Lord Carmichael contains rare and valuable selected specimens of Tibetan art, among which prayer wheels, ornaments, scabbards and a writing-table are worth mentioning.

The Picture Gallery contains a rich collection of pictures representing the various schools of Indian painting. Noteworthy among these are the following pictures:—

(1) A music party at the court of Sultan Muhammad Tughlak, painted by Shapur of Khorasan in 1534.

(2) Portrait of Faizi, Akbar's poet laureate.

(3) Priests in council at night, most probably painted by Bihzad.

(4) Portrait of Prince Muhammad Murad on an elephant, by Iqbal.

(5) Portrait of Sadi, the Shakespeare of the East.

(6) The Emperor Jahangir shooting a lion.

The management of the Museum is in the hands of a Board of Trustees. The Trustees have introduced a scheme of attractive lectures on subjects chiefly connected with the galleries in the Museum. These lectures, which are delivered in two series, one in Winter and the other in Summer, are very popular. Nearly 5,000 persons visit the museum daily.

Guides to explain the exhibits to visitors are available on Mondays and Fridays in the geological galleries. Facilities to students are offered by every department of the Museum. The post-graduate department of the Calcutta University hold classes and examinations in the galleries of the Indian Museum. Research scholars are also allowed to study in the departmental libraries of the Museum, which are the finest in the East.

One word more about the Museum House, which is situated to the East of the Museum building and is at present occupied by the Officers of the Zoological Survey of India. It is a historic mansion. It is said to have been used in the days gone by the Sadr Dewani Adalat, and it was here that the great Maharaja Nund Kumar was kept under confinement during his famous trial in the days of Warren Hastings. The tank in the compound of the Museum is also of great historic interest. In the good old days when Calcutta was young, the *Laldighi*, which is now known as the Dalhousie Square Tank, and this tank, which was then known as the Jhanjri Talao, were used as reserve tanks for the

supply of drinking water for the gentry of Calcutta. The Museum Tank has lost its former glory, but it remains to this day one of the best tanks in the Town for fishing. Not long ago one of my friends hooked a fish weighing 35 seers.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI.



Canon Streeter says, " Science makes impossible any religion but the highest."—*The Outline*.

According to Rabbinic Judaism the whole man, body and soul, shall be judged. " The body says, ' the soul has sinned ' ; . . . the soul says, ' the body has sinned ' ". . . . It is like the case of a man who had a beautiful orchard yielding delicious figs. To guard them . . . he put into the orchard two men,—one blind, the other, lame and unable to use his legs. The lame man suggested to the blind man that he carry him on his back, as the only way to get at the figs. . . . When the master missing his figs. . . . accused them, one pleaded : ' thou seest I have no feet to bring me to the figs.' The other : ' I have no eyes to see the way to them.' But the master placed the lame man on him who was blind and beat them together."—*Sanhedrin*.

DESTINY.¹

On the 5th October, 1799, three officers wearing military uniforms stood watching the sea from a knoll near Ajaccio, in Corsica. At the foot of the knoll one could see the brown roofs of the little town of Ajaccio, the white walls of the fort and four men-of-war at anchor, flying the French flag. These ships formed part of a squadron which had sailed from Alexandria on the 23rd August carrying General Bonaparte to France. The three officers watching the sea were Bonaparte, his chief of the staff Berthier, and Admiral Cantheaume.

"There can no longer be any doubt," concluded the Admiral with his eye still at the glass surveying the horizon, "that it is an English cruiser, and beyond it there are two other sails clearly visible."

Berthier asked, "Have the English got wind of our movements?"

"No," observed Bonaparte, "these vessels are roaming at large without troubling themselves about Corsica."

"In fact," resumed Cantheaume, "they are making for N.N.W. very slowly, there being almost no wind. We shall therefore be obliged to postpone our departure for 24 hours."

"No, this is not necessary; we depart to-night," imperatively remarked Bonaparte.

"Pardon me, General, but if rumour is to be believed, the English fleet is there and we shall have to cross its course; it would be then impossible to avoid being noticed and on a moon-light night the odds would be against us."

"Admiral, I have become a fatalist since my sojourn in the East," replied Bonaparte, "and I do believe that I am in luck."

At this moment there appeared one of the sailors who had escorted the three Chiefs and announced a strange discovery. He said they had found a big heap of dry bushes, evidently meant to be ignited at night as a signal for communication with the enemy.

As the sailor concluded his statement they heard the report of gun-fire. Some minutes later several sailors brought a man with torn clothes and wounded face, who was struggling vigorously with his captors.

¹ Adopted from the French by Dr. M. Ahmad, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., Bar-at-Law, Meerut.

Two armed individuals had been found by them, concealed not far from the pathway leading past a knoll. When first questioned they ran away. When pursued they fired. One of them had been captured and produced before the three officers. His companion was still being chased at that moment. The captured individual was a short, thick-set man, some thirty years of age, dressed in brown and wearing a hood. His sun-burnt face, half-concealed by a bushy beard, had a haughty expression. His eye did not wince under Bonaparte's piercing look.

Cantheaume asked: "What were you doing there, armed with guns and hidden near the pathway?"

"We were lying in ambush for wild boar."

"Why did you run away? Why did you fire on French sailors?"

"We are hill-men and cannot distinguish between ordinary clothes and uniform. We thought we were being attacked and so we fired in self-defence."

"You are spies," Bonaparte exclaimed brusquely; "you were preparing a signal to attract the attention of English cruisers. When you saw us you changed your mind and concealed yourself near the pathway to fire on me, on my return. I think I know thee."

While this conversation was going on the report of a gun was heard, and a moment later the voice of some people crying out "He is dead."

A sense of utter despair clouded the prisoner's face.

"Thou art a Valturio," continued Bonaparte, "one of the bitterest enemies of my family. Surely I have seen thee before,—thou art Giovanni Valturio?"

"Giovanni," replied the prisoner with a hoarse voice, "was the name of the man whom thy minions have just killed. I am his brother Giuseppe, the last of the Valtorios."

"Thou hatest me still?" asked Bonaparte.

"If I had three souls I would sell them all in exchange for the pleasure of getting the chance of once firing on thee."

The General reflected for a few minutes and then asked, "Dost thou shoot straight?"

"At two hundred yards I drop an eagle with a ball cartridge."

Bonaparte ordered the sailors who held the prisoner saying, "Take him to that bush and count your steps on the way."

The sailors took the prisoner as far as the bush and cried "Sixty."

"Give him his rifle," ordered Bonaparte and then called out to the prisoner, "Now take aim."

Without the loss of a single second Giuseppe raised the rifle to the cheek. This was done so rapidly that Bonaparte's two companions could not intervene even to utter a warning cry; they remained paralysed with wonder till after the report of the rifle.

With his back resting against the trunk of an oak Bonaparte had not moved even a hair's breadth. Some pieces of the bark were seen falling on his overcoat. The ball had struck and lodged in the trunk of the oak-tree, some millimeters above his left shoulder.

Giuseppe crying with rage had thrown his rifle into the bush.

"Let this man go wherever he pleases," ordered Napoleon.

Before he disappeared Giuseppe called out, "Thou wilt live and reign but I will not be thy subject."

The same night the French squadron sailed from Ajaccio. A month later the news was received that Giuseppe Valturio had migrated from Corsica to Tunis and embraced Islam there.

M. AHMAD.

SHUJA-UD-DAULAH, NAWAB VAZIR OF OUDH

—Contd.

On the 8th September 1773, Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah entered into another treaty with the Company at Benares. We find from the Records²⁷ that the Treaty was the result of an interview which Lord Clive had with the Nawab at that city. According to it "the monthly subsidy for the extraordinary expense of the Company's troops employed in the aid of Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah was fixed at the sum of 21,000 rupees for one Brigade and the Provinces of Cora and Allahabad which were originally ceded to the Emperor Shah Alum, were to be transferred to him for the sum of 50 *lakhs* of rupees of which 20 *lakhs* were to be immediately due and were accordingly paid; 15 *lakhs* were to be paid at the expiration of a year and the remaining 15 at the expiration of two years."

The last important event which marked the closing year of his life was the Rohilla War. The Foreign Department records preserved in the Imperial Record Department give a full account. The following important points²⁸ contained therein cannot be overlooked:—"Just after the conclusion of the Benares Treaty on the 9th September 1773, Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah solicited the aid of the Company's troops to reduce the Rohilla country, lying on the north of his dominions between the Ganges and the mountains of Tibet. For this service he engaged to pay the Company, besides the stipulated monthly subsidy, 40 *lakhs* of rupees when the war should be concluded. The immediate plea for these hostilities was the breach of faith, with which the Rohilla Chiefs were charged in the supplies of money afforded by them to the Mahrattas, against whom they had solicited and obtained Shuja-ud-

²⁷ S. S. C. Progs. Vol. I, p. 116; Letter from Warren Hastings to the Members of the Select Committee at Fort William, dated Benares, 17th September 1773, gives a full account of this Treaty. (S. S. C. Progs. Vol. I, p. 44) This treaty was signed, sealed and solemnly sworn to by the contracting parties at Benares in the presence of J. Stewart and W. Redfearn. (*Ibid.* p. 55).

²⁸ S. S. C. Progs. Vol. I, p. 116; in connection with this war, the letter of Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah to the Board (received by them on the 18th November 1773) is interesting. S. S. C. Progs. Vol. I, p. 76.

Daulah's assistance under a solemn engagement to pay him 40 *lakhs* of rupees on the departure of the Mahrattas, and for refusing afterwards to fulfil that engagement. Shuja-ud-Daulah's request was granted.

The 2nd Brigade was ordered on service, and Colonel A. Champion, the provisional Commander-in-Chief, appointed in command. Having been joined by Shuja-ud-Daulah and his troops, he entered the Rohilla borders on the 17th April 1774 and on the 23rd of the same month (the 11th *Safar*) attacked and defeated Hafiz Rahmat Khan, their leader, after three hours' fighting. Hafiz Rahmat, who showed prodigies of valour, was killed by a cannon-ball and much booty fell into the hands of the conquering army. The victory was decisive; no other enemy appeared in the field; and Shuja-ud-Daulah obtained possession of the greatest part of the Rohilla country." Though in this war General Champion and his English troops "behaved²⁹ with great spirit and activity," yet Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah complained³⁰ to Warren Hastings on the 23rd May 1774, that the British troops behaved unseemly in the town of Pilibhit. The paper says that "they entered the city and committed outrages and violence on the inhabitants." When Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah remonstrated against the conduct of the English soldiers, General Champion replied, "as there were 4 *crores* of rupees in the city, his troops wanted a share of the same; and that if they were withdrawn they would plunder the whole of the Rohilkhund country." Under the circumstances nothing now remained for Shuja-ud-Daulah save to appeal to the Governor-General, Warren Hastings, to see for himself, "whether there is any justification for such conduct on the part of the English Officers in view of the agreement made between him and the Company for the expedition." Colonel Champion styles the above statements of the Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah against the English soldiers as "infamous untruths;" but the following extract from the letter³¹ of General J. Clavering, Colonel G. Monson and Mr. P. Francis to the Court of Directors dated the 30th November 1774 may be quoted:—

"The fatal consequences of indulging troops with the hopes of plunder have been too often exemplified in this country. The Rohilla War with respect to the share we took in it had no other object; and to judge from the correspondence which has been laid before us it should seem that plunder had engrossed the attention not only of this Government but of the army from the commencement of the campaign

²⁹ Persian Calendar, Vol. IV, letter No. 1008.

³⁰ *Ibid*, letter No. 1036.

³¹ S. S. C. Progs. Vol. I, pp. 201-2.

to the end of it. We do not mean to intimate the most distant reflection on the conduct of the Brigade, far otherwise. We mean to fix our censure upon the Government, which unnecessarily employs their military force on service which of course suggest hopes of expectations utterly unfit to be proposed to or entertained by a regular army." It should however be remembered that the writers of this letter regarded Warren Hastings as a monster of iniquity whom it was the part of virtue to censure and oppose.

From the records, it may be further found that the British intervention in the Rohilla War was also highly disapproved by the Court of Directors at home. In their letter³² of the 3rd March 1774 they wrote indignantly:—"Notwithstanding the pecuniary advantages which the Company have gained by the event, we are exceedingly concerned to find that our arms have been employed in the conquest of the Rohillas; that we fear that in a political view, the late engagements with Shuja-ud-Daulah are not altogether unexceptionable; and we absolutely prohibit this Government from employing their troops on such expeditions on any pretence whatsoever." These terms, however, are moderate in comparison with the condemnation which the Court passed on the Rohilla War in their letter of the 7th March 1774. The extract runs:—"It is a measure repugnant to every idea of sound policy. We order the troops to be forthwith recalled and positively direct that we never more consent to employ them beyond the limits of our own provinces, or those of our Ally, whom we are obliged by treaty to defend against actual invasions." This is certainly language which no sophistry can interpret into an approbation of the measure taken by the Company in the Rohilla War.

After his victory in the Rohilla War, Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah turned his thoughts entirely towards bringing into order and submission the country of the Rohillas and towards incorporating his conquests with his hereditary dominion. But he had but few months more to live.

An account of his death which is collected partly from the information given in the records and partly from the *Seir Mutaqherin* will be read with pathetic interest:—When Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah was busy with consolidating his Empire after the Rohilla War, "an eruption appeared on his body. At first he took no notice of it; nevertheless the sores increased and baffled all the power of physic and skill of surgeons. Shuja-ud-Daulah himself, was astonished at the declining

³² *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 506.

state of his health and resolved to return to Faizabad* where he had built a palace. Arrived there he expected some benefit from the change of air, but he became worse and worse still. He now called to his assistance some English surgeons who spared no care or attention, but all to no purpose. He was informed that he had but a few hours to live. Calmly sending for his mother, wife and relations, he solemnly pronounced his profession of faith and asked their pardon. On Thursday, the 26th January, 1775 at 6 in the morning (the 22nd of the *Zilqad* 1188 of the *Hijra*) Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah peacefully passed away. An hour later Colonel P. Gailliez wrote a letter³³ to the Board informing them of his death. This letter was received by them on the night of the 5th February 1775 and was immediately sent in circulation among the Members. It runs thus:—

“Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,—It is with the utmost concern I inform you of the death of the *Vasir*, who departed this life an hour ago. Mr. Campbell and Captain Stuart attended and dressed him till he died, but for two days past he took no medicine inwardly from them. The mother and the rest of his family about him in their too great anxiety would not admit of anything but from themselves to be administered to him.

“His eldest son and presumptive successor, the Nabob Mirza Amanny (Nawab Asaf-ud-Daulah), has applied to me for support in his just rights and my assistance with the troops if necessary, which I have assured him of, until I am honoured with your commands and instructions for my guidance on this occasion. I shall, therefore, remain here and give him every assistance and protection to the family, in my power.”

FAIZABAD,
The 26th January 1775,
at 7 in the morning.

I have the honour to be,
with highest respect, etc.,
(Sd.) P. GAILLIEZ.

* “Faizabad rose to a height of unparalleled prosperity under Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah and almost rivalled Delhi in magnificence. It was full of merchants from Persia, China and Europe and money flowed like water; the population had increased enormously and had spread beyond the fortifications and many of the nobles were residing as far as Raunahi on the West. After the death of Shuja-ud-Daulah the city fell into rapid decay.” (*Faizabad Gazetteer* by H. R. Nevill, I.C.S.).

³³ S. S. C. *Progs.* Vol. I, p. 208.

The news of the death of Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah, inspite of his "strange character," filled the whole city of Faizabad with sorrow and grief. Even Mahabat Khan, the eldest son of Hafiz Rahmat Khan (whose family was ruined by him) on seeing the corpse passing by, "could not contain himself, but shed a flood of tears." He further said "that the whole city of Faizabad on that day was in that state, no face being met with that was not bathed in tears." Major A. Polier who was an eye-witness to the funeral scene thus speaks of the Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah and of the effect which his death produced on the mind of the populace in his letter³⁴ to the Governor-General (Warren Hastings) dated Faizabad, the 26th January, 1775: "It is difficult to find words to express the sorrow and grief of almost all his attendants and in general of every inhabitant of this place at his death which makes in my opinion no bad apology of a prince who with many faults and foibles must yet be acknowledged to have been not only (records torn and faded here) but also endowed with many good and worthy qualities." In another letter of the same date written at half-past 7 p.m. he says:—"My heart is too full to say anything further on this subject (Shuja-ud-Daulah's last request) but he is no more."

His body having been washed, purified and wrapped up in a winding sheet, it was taken up by Mirza Ali Khan and Salar Jang, his Consort's brothers, who, together with the principal grandees of the Court and Officers of the Army and the most eminent men of the city, carried it by turns on their shoulders, all the while preceded and followed by an immense retinue of his horses, elephants and his whole household, as also by crowds of people that had been attached to his person. At last the convoy reached *Gulab Bagh*, four miles distant from Faizabad, where his body was entombed.

From the letter³⁵ of Bahu Begam to Warren Hastings, Governor-General, dated the 22nd March 1775, we find that very soon after her husband's death she earnestly solicited his help to take the body of her husband to Karbala according to his "dying injunctions." In this letter she strongly refuted the charge brought against her by some malicious people that "she is trying to get out of her present insecure position and leave Hindusthan with her wealth under the cloak of a religious duty." She further strongly asserted that "whatever fortune she had, was spent in helping her husband after the Buxar disaster and that her other income was also inconsiderable." However, Warren

³⁴ Sec. O. C. 6th February 1775, Nos. 3 and 4.

³⁵ Persian Calendar, Vol. IV, letter No. 1655.

Hastings, in his letter³⁶ to her, dated the 25th March 1775, "agreed to offer her every assistance" but warned her that "owing to manifold difficulties and dangers of the passage she should not undertake the voyage to Karbala for the present." Between the 8th and 31st May 1775 further correspondence³⁷ on this subject passed between her and the Governor-General. At last we find from her letter³⁸ to him, dated —(nil) September 1775, "that she abandoned her idea of going to Karbala for the present," but she hoped "that the English authorities at Lucknow would assist her when she would undertake the journey in future." We learn on the authority of the *Tarikh Farahbaksh*³⁹ that when Bahu Begum was on her death-bed (in the year 1816), she saw in her delirium, the shadowy figure of her husband and she repeatedly told her faithful Minister, Darab Ali Khan, who was in attendance: "Darab! The Great Nawab has come to take me."

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, letter No. 1859.

³⁷ *Ibid.* letter Nos. 1747 and 1824.

³⁸ *Ibid.* letter No. 1922.

³⁹ A Persian work by Muhammad Faiz Bakhsh translated into English by William Huey.

MUTAFARRIQAT.

In the course of a review of the book *La Chasse Et Les Sports Chez Les Arabs* by M. Louis Mercier, Consul de France, mention occurs of some interesting matters not of general knowledge, as will appear from the following.

"M. Mercier deplores, also, the confusion caused in the keeping of pedigrees by the sudden change in the system in the fourteenth century. Before that time the Arab sang the pedigree of his steed as being descended from a line of sires belonging to one of the eight separate dynasties sprung from the First Horse, created from a handful of the South Wind, a splendid being capable, like his descendants, of prayer and conscious of the glory of his Creator. After that he began to trace the pedigree through a succession of dams, and their relationship with the eight primitive dynasties is often not clear. M. Mercier reminds his readers that the horse, in comparison with the camel, is only a recent aid to the Arab in his sport."

"Virtue is found in the fat and brain of the hyaena; and this animal, which is supposed to languish perpetually from unrequited affection for human beings, is of importance, as it can influence the weather."

Again, we learn that certain Arabs play or played polo, "sometimes four a side, sometimes six, and sometimes on a truly heroic scale—150 a side with several balls."

For the Canadian game Lacrosse the author claims a Moorish Arab origin.

In the January number of the *Scientific American* there is at least one article which will be read with great interest in India where sport has so often taken the form of single combat between animals or birds. It is concerned with a variety of sport in China, where the cicada is an "emblem of resurrection, the praying-mantis a symbol of bravery, and many other insects play a prominent rôle in early religious and poetical conceptions as well as in art, as shown by their effigies in jade." In China crickets are enticed out of their holes by candle-light, as an ancient painting shows, or with fruit of the *lung yen* (dragon's eyes),

or forced from fear of drowning in water which is poured within, or smoked out. They are given summer quarters and winter in gourds trained into special shapes for their comfort.

Only the male sings, and his song is produced, as every school-boy knows, by "raising his wing-covers above his body and then rubbing their bases"—on which are "fine, transverse ridges like those on a file"—together, so that the file-like veins of the under surface of the one wing-cover scrape the upper surface of the lower."

Why does the male sing, or stridulate,—according as the hearing ear is that of his lady-love or an eaves-dropper? Is it a love-song, or a song to relieve his feelings, or is it for no end at all, but only because he is made so? The reason is still to seek.

The fighters are treated with most particular care. Champions fetch high prices, and win big stakes. They are reared often by highly-cultured men, including some in responsible Government positions. One pathetic story is here quoted from the article which illustrates Eve's meddlesome curiosity; the narrator's concluding remark permits of the conjecture that his wife revised his manuscript:—

"An anecdote of tragical character is told with reference to an official of Peking, who held the post of director of the rice-granaries of the capital. He once found a cricket of choice quality and exceptional value. In order to secure this treasure, he exchanged his best horse for it and resolved to present this fine specimen to the emperor. He placed it cautiously in a box and took it home. During his absence his prying wife craved to see the insect which had been bought so dearly. She opened the box, and fate ordained that the cricket made its escape. A rooster happened to be around and swallowed the cricket. The poor woman, frightened by the consequences of her act, strangled herself with a rope. At his return the husband learned of the double loss he had suffered and seized by despair, committed suicide. The Chinese narrator of this story concludes, 'Who would have imagined that the graceful singer of the fields might provoke such a tragedy as this?'"

Those who have read the records recently compiled by Professor A. P. Newton and others in the fascinating book *Travel and Travellers of the Middle Ages* will be interested to continue the study of the experiences of those who sought adventure, or knowledge or sphere of missionary activity in the East, and will welcome a reprint of a 1720 edition of *Sir John Chardin's Travels in Persia*, for which an Introduction has been written by Brigadier General Sir Percy Sykes. Chardin

was born in 1643, and became a jeweller, like his father. In 1664 he set out on a journey to the East Indies, and reached Persia in 1666, in time to witness in Ispahan the coronation of Sulaiman III. In 1672 he started on his second expedition to Persia, taking with him precious jewels for sale. He stayed there for four years, and has in this work described the splendours that he saw as he turned business to double advantage.

On Saturday, 26th December, 1927, the Students' Union of the Islamia College welcomed the Hon'ble Nawab Musharruf Hossian, the Education Minister of Bengal, as an Honorary Member. The Nawab Sahib was duly received at the College Gate and introduced to those members of the staff and representatives of the students who constitute the Cabinet of the Union.

The proceedings opened with a recitation from the Quran. The student Vice-President, Mr. Tafazzal Ali, read the following Address, after which the Hon'ble Nawab Sahib visited the Students' Common Room, and the Library, and partook of refreshment with the staff-members.

The Islamia College Union regards it as a unique privilege to confer to-day Life-membership on one who is not only the Minister of Education of the province, but one of the most distinguished public men of Bengal.

We realise the necessity of linking ourselves with the leading public men of the province and the country, with those who are interested in Muslim Education, as the success of an institution depends to-day very largely on the measure of the moral and material support it receives from the public. Sir, by your consenting to become a link in the chain of our Life-members you have not only provided us with an occasion for great gratification but shown that generous disposition of yours, that alacrity to help and promote a public cause that have marked you out in public life.

It is with a sense of wonder and admiration that we recall here how, in one of the darkest periods in the history of the province, you have proved to be the bulwark of the Muslim Community by your steadfast devotion to its cause, without being unmindful at the same time of your personal interests. That is a feat very few people can perform. To combine business skill and acumen with service to the

Community, to build up a great fortune and at the same time to grant liberally from it for the public cause, are examples of noble living, and it is no wonder that the people have hailed you as one of their accredited leaders. Your handsome contribution of Rs. 20,000 to the Lytton Scholarship Fund for Muslim students, and similar grants, too many to recount, large and small, public and private, to associations, institutions and individuals, have already secured for you an abiding place in the hearts of the Muslims of Bengal.

The Islamia College, which you are pleased to visit to-day, and its Union, which has the honour of including you as a Life-member, are yet in their formative stage. Our ambitions are great, our plans and purposes bold, but our strength is still the strength of a child. Nevertheless we may be excused when we say that during our short existence of a year-and-a-half we have already evolved a Union on broad and liberal principles, a Union with many-sided activities, such as social, literary and debating, with a Common Room and Indoor Games,—one, indeed, the like of which is not to be seen in any First-grade College in Bengal. But we feel it very keenly that a sports-field has still to be acquired, a College Magazine still to be started, and the existing activities to be fostered and developed. It is the old story of financial straits that thrusts itself so distressingly on us in all our efforts.

You have already done much, but the Community hopes for yet more from you. The demand will be cumulative and insistent, now that you have been associated with one of the highest administrative posts in the province. But we have not the least doubt that by virtue of your great skill and experience, your transparent sincerity and breadth of vision, you will rise equal to the boundless confidence and expectation of the people and establish yourself for ever in their hearts.

That you have so kindly agreed to be associated with our Union as a Life-member affords us pleasure too deep for expression. In comparison with the important duties of your high position, the academic relationship established with us here may appear to be of little moment. But we believe that in the records of our existence a fresh chapter with immense possibilities is opened to-day, and that a time will come when our Union with a long list of Life-members will be worthy of the great names with which it will be associated. Assuring you, Sir, once more of our sincerity, love and devotion,

We beg to subscribe ourselves,
etc.

A. H. H.

MUSLIM INSTITUTE PAGE.

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Extraordinary meetings, which have a special utility of their own, were convened from time to time. The lectures which were delivered by eminent scholars and educationists on literary subjects and topics of general interest were highly appreciated by all present. The gathering was appreciative and large on each occasion. We are indebted to the Lecturers and Presidents for their keen interest and ready patronage which enabled us to be successful in our endeavour to hold such meetings. A list of subjects discussed together with the names of Lecturers and Presidents is given below:—

Subjects.	Speakers.	Presidents.
1. My Experiences in America	Dr. M. M. Sadeq, D.D.	Shamsul Ulama Mr. Kamaluddin Ahmad, M.A., I.E.S.
2. Scientific Aspects of Islam	Dr. S. M. Zwemer, F.R.G.S.	Mr. S. Khuda Bukhsh, M.A., (Oxon); B.C.L., Bar-at-Law.
3. Some Thoughts on Education	Prof. M. C. Chatterjee, M.A., B.Sc., LL.B.	Mr. Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., C.I.E.
4. Rationalism and Islam ...	Seth Yaqub Hasan, B.A., M.L.C., (Madras).	Sir Abdur Rahim, K.C.S.I.

The Debating Section, which trains our young men in the art of elocution and gives them opportunity of manifesting their literary and debating talents, worked satisfactorily and aroused considerable interest. The meetings, in most cases, were well attended and the keenness shown by some of the senior members is an adequate proof that our members have realised the value and utility of debates. The meetings were conducted satisfactorily by Mr. Sultanul Islam.

The following is the list of Subjects, Speakers and Presidents.

Subjects.	Speakers.	Presidents.
1. The Youth of To-day ...	Mr. A. Rasul ...	Shamsul Ulama Mr. Kamal- uddin Ahmad, M.A., I.E.S.
2. A United India is not essen- tial for the attainment of Self-Government ...	Mr. Sultanul Islam (Pros) ... Mr. Khalilur Rahman (Cons) ...	Mr. Tahir Jamil, M.A.
3. Whether Music should be introduced into the Muslim Institute or not ...	Mr. Syed Nehal Hus- sain, B.A. (Pros) ... Mr. Tahir Jamil, M.A., (Cons) ...	Shamsul Ulama Mr. Kamal- uddin Ahmad, M.A., I.E.S.

Our Billiards Section is not lacking in spirit and popularity. We have quite a good number of players who are counted among the best amateurs in Calcutta. Two very interesting matches were played in our Institute between our Ex-Games Secretary, Mr. M. M. Begg and Mike Elias, a professional Champion of India. The Champion conceded 500 points in a game of 1,000. Mr. Begg received warmest congratulations from those who were present, including his rival.

The final score was as follows:—

1st day—	Mr. M. M. Begg	...	1,000
	Mike Elias	...	718
2nd day—	Mr. M. M. Begg	...	1,000
	Mike Elias	...	652

The Annual River Pic-nic of the Muslim Institute came off on Sunday, the 20th November, 1927, on board *F. S. Howrah*. There were about 250 members and guests present, among whom were the

Hon'ble Nawab Bahadur Syed Nawab Ali Chowdhury, Shamsul Ulama Mr. Kamaluddin Ahmad, Khan Bahadur Afzalur Rahman, Khan Bahadur Ahsanullah, Khan Bahadur Mohammad Mahmood and others.

The Steamer left Chandpal Ghat at 9-30 a.m. and those present on board thoroughly enjoyed the Music and Qawwali and indulged in games such as cards, chess, draughts, etc., provided by the Institute authorities. A sumptuous lunch and tea were supplied to all and the steamer turned back from Budge Budge. On its way back it was stopped at the Botanical Gardens, where the excursionists got down for a short stroll. The party returned to Chandpal Ghat at 5 p.m. and the members dispersed after spending a most enjoyable holiday.

KHALILUR RAHMAN.

ARTHUR PROBSTHAIN

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BUKSHSH, S. KHUDA.—ESSAYS, INDIAN AND ISLAMIC.

8vo. pp. 295. 1911. . . . (PROBSTHAIN'S ORIENTAL SERIES, Vol. 5). Price 8s. 6d.

The Author has carried on his studies with scrupulous fidelity to science and truth. He is a faithful historian, and a historian of Islam unparalleled in India.

DRIVER, G. R.—A GRAMMAR OF THE COLLOQUIAL ARABIC OF SYRIA AND PALESTINE.

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DARA SHIKUH LEARNING CALLIGRAPHY.

(From a painting in the collection of Mr. A. Ghose)

ETERNAL LIFE.

BY

SIR MUHAMMAD IQBAL

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محمد اقبال

۱۲ رزاقی ۱۳۲۸ھ

GIBRALTAR, THE SEA-GATE FOR THE SPREAD OF ISLAMIC CULTURE IN EUROPE.

I had the pleasure of paying a flying visit to Spain in April, 1925. The object of the visit was to have a glimpse, however brief, at the influence of the Arabs on the country during their long rule of several centuries. I left Bombay by the S.S. *Naldera* on 11th April, 1925, landed at Gibraltar on the 26th, spent three days on a flying visit from there to the opposite African coast to see some old centres of the Arabs in Tangier and on the coast of Morocco, and then visited the cities of Granada, Seville, Cordova, Toledo and Madrid.

At Gibraltar, the coast of Africa and Europe are separated only by a narrow part of the Mediterranean which can be crossed by a short voyage of two to three hours.

The Arabs had their old primitive culture, which was more or less influenced by the culture of the adjoining countries. But on their conquest of Iran they imbibed a good deal of the ancient Iranian civilization, which had come into contact with the civilizations of various countries extending from India to Greece. This contact with the Iranians gave a new turn to their culture. Then passing through Egypt along the Mediterranean coast of North Africa, the Arabs went on drinking from various fountains of culture. So by the time they reached on their conquering course to the African coast opposite Gibraltar, they had, in point of culture, become a nation quite different from what they were when they first left the wilds of Arabia.

Having arrived so far, the Arabs were tempted to invade Spain from the opposite shore and they sent their Arab general, Tarik by name, in 711 A.D. with an army for this purpose. They took Gibraltar, and, staying there for some time, spread their conquests inland. Later on they influenced the Renaissance of Europe, and so Gibraltar was, as it were, the sea-gate through which they influenced Europe.

As the Arabs had entered into Europe from the African side of Morocco, they began to be known as Moors by European writers, and the name stuck to them not only in Europe, but in other parts of the world also, and it was applied later on not only to the Arabs, but to all Mahommedans, whether Arabs or

The Arabs known as Moors.

non-Arabs. Several travellers in India have used the name for the Mahommedans of this country, and at times, by mistake, even for some people of other faiths. Even the Parsees are mistakenly called Moors by some travellers.

Nowadays we sometimes think of sending our sons to the Universities of Europe for higher education. But there was a time when European fathers thought of sending their sons to Spain for higher education in the Arab Universities, such as those of Cordova and Seville. When the influence of the ancient Greek civilization dwindled after the inroads of the so-called wild tribes of Central Asia, there came in what are known as the Dark Ages, which commenced the period known as the Middle Ages. Knowledge was confined to the priestly class. The laymen were mostly ignorant. Then after some time there came in the Renaissance, which was the result of various causes. In that Renaissance the Arabs had a strong hand. The Schoolmen were the theologians of the Middle Ages. They were so called because they taught in the schools, mostly attached to the Cathedral. Their one fault is said to be this, that instead of taking the Bible for the basis of their teaching, they took as such the teachings of the early Fathers. This was a fault seen in the case of the theologians of several other faiths. Now the teaching of the liberal sciences acts as a counter-weight upon the influence of such teaching. Some learned men, both among the clergy and among the laity, began to instruct the youths of their countries in these liberal sciences. They started work in this line to counteract the influence of the monastic and scholastic teachings of the monasteries. These new teachers were first active in France.

Now the Arabs were at that time much advanced in the knowledge of the liberal sciences. Some of the above teachers themselves went to Spain to learn these liberal sciences more profoundly from the Arab Universities, where Philosophy, Mathematics, Physics, Astronomy and other sciences were taught by the Arabs. The latter had acquired the knowledge of the science of language and history from Persia and Babylon, of navigation from Byzantium, of the manufacture of paper from the Chinese, of geometry from the Scythians, who were trained under the Greeks, and of the decimal system from India. They learned and further cultivated these sciences and arts.

The stay and rule of the Arabs in Spain lasted for about eight hundred years. The Iberian Peninsula formed by the long period of their occupation of Spain. Spain and Portugal was once ruled over by one Iberius, who gave the country his name. The place now known as Granada was the capital. The rule of the successors of Iberius was

followed successively by that of the Romans, the Huns and the Vandals and Visi-Goths. All these were followed by the Arabs. There arose three different powers of the Arabs, who through fighting among themselves weakened their rule. This weakness brought about the fall of all the Arab rulers in 1492. Even after their fall they continued to live in Spain as a subject people for some time.

Thousands of Arabs left Spain to avoid the Christian foreign rule over them. So in order to prevent depopulation of the country, emigration was prohibited. This led to conversion on a large scale. At first many had become Christians outwardly, though in heart they continued to be Mahommedans. This show of religion led to the formation of a kind of Inquisition, of the like of which we hear later on in Europe, and even in Goa in India under the Portuguese.

In 1570, the Arabs raised a rebellion against their Christian rulers. Thereupon they were asked to quit the country, and they bade farewell to Spain in 1609. It is said that even now in Spain there runs Arab blood in the veins of many Spaniards who are the descendants of the ancient Arab occupants of the land. We find that in Spain the same thing happened to the Mahommedan Arabs on the re-conquest of Spain by the Christians as had happened to the Zoroastrians in Persia on the conquest of their country by the Arabs. The intolerance of a large number of them in Iran was, as it were, repeated in Spain, where they were harassed and persecuted.

The name Gibraltar comes from Arabic. *Jabr* or *Jabl* in Arabic means 'mountain.' The last part of the word is a corrupted form of *Tarik*, the name of the first Arab general who invaded Spain. Gibraltar is a huge rocky mountain, and the great fort cut in and out of the rock is grand and worth seeing. It is a feat of splendid military work. The sight of the great and famous Mediterranean at our foot from a height of about 1,000 ft., above the sea is very impressive. That old customs and usages do not die even under changed circumstances is seen here, where every evening you are reminded of an old state of affairs though that state no longer exists. The population having outgrown the city, there is nothing like closing the gates of the fortress at sunset. But still, a group of soldiers with band playing go through the streets to the commander of the town to ask for the key of the Gate to close it symbolically.

J. J. MODI.

THE RAIN.

(Adapted from Kalidas.)

Who is he that draweth near,
Heralded by sounds of fear?
His red flag, the lightning's glare,
Flashing through the murky air;
Pealing thunders for his drums,
Royally he comes, he comes.
See, he rides amid the crowd,
On his elephant of cloud,
Marshalling his kingly train,
It is he, the Rain! The Rain!

Dark as lotus-leaves of blue,
Clouds have hid the heavens from view,
Sailing on their airy road,
Sinking with their watery load,
Dropping down their floods of tears,—
Music pleasant to our ears.

Ye that love, no more be sad,
Let your souls with mirth be clad.
Woe to him whose love's away,
He must mourn while all are gay!
Every cooling drop that flows,
Swells the torrent of his woes;
If he bend his look on high,
The bright bow that spans the sky,
Strung with lightning, hurls a dart
Quivering in his lonely heart.
For the gems she used to wear
Matched the hues of glory there;
And the clouds in fancy's dream,
Belted with the lightning's gleam,
Conjure up the flashing zone
Of the one he calls his own.

Glossy buds o'er all the earth,
Myriad coloured, start to birth;
On her breast bright insects shine.
Earth! What dame has gems like thine?
Lovelier necklace ne'er was seen
On the bosom of a queen.

Breathes there one whom such a sight
Fails to ravish with delight?
Look upon the woods, and see,
Bursting with new life each tree;
Look upon the river-side,
Where the young fawns, lotus-eyed,
In the shady covert hide,
With their tender lips a-bleeding,
From the sprays on which they're feeding.

Merry peacocks hail the rain,
Spreading wide their jewelled train;
They will love to prance and play,
In a wilder dance to-day.

Swollen rivers, foaming o'er,
Down in headlong fury pour;
Whirling with them to the sea
Many an old uprooted tree,
Like wild wantons now they race
To their Ocean Lord's embrace.

Yea, it is the time of love;
What though thunder roar above,
What though darkness hide the way,
Love-sick maidens cannot stay!
Lightnings serving for their guide,
Seek they now their lover's side.

And the thunder's voice of might
Scares the wife at dead of night;
On her faithless lord but now
She had bent her angry brow,
Still in this her hour of fear,
She will clasp him, call him dear.

But the maids with loves away
Who may tell how sad are they?
E'en the light of hope is quenched,
And their dear red lips are drenched
By the stream of tears that rise,
In the lotus of their eyes;
What to them are perfumes, dress,
In this night of bitterness?

Joy and love the bosom fill,
As we gaze upon the hill,
Where the silver streams are glancing,
And the happy peacocks dancing.
Every sweetest plant has lent
All the riches of its scent,
And the cloud that loves them flings
Beads of pearl upon their wings.

Now with jasmin or the rose,
Or each fragrant flower that blows,
Wreathed amid her flowing hair,
E'en the fairest looks more fair;
Or, with garment half-unlaced,
And long tresses to the waist
Floating round her, unconfined,
With a pretty garland, twined,
Of the buds she loves the best,
Round her neck and on her breast;
Then one kiss from her dear lips,
This is wanting—only this—
To complete the lover's bliss.

Nature's balm, the time of pleasure,
Gifts broad cast, no stint, no measure,
Loved by creeper, plant and tree,
For the joys that are to be.
And the clouds, enamoured, rest
As the mountains kiss their breast;
There awhile they gladly tarry
Weary with the load they carry;
And the hill, that fainting lay
'Neath the fire of summer's day,

Lifts again its woody head
Freshened by the streams they shed.

Bees, that round the lilies throng,
Soothe us with their drowsy song;
To their lotus beds they fly,
But the peacock dancing by
Spreads abroad his train so fair
That they cling deluded there.

Balmy breeze! His breath how cool!
He has fanned the shady pool,
He has danced with curtseying flowers,
Kissed them in the jasmin bowers;
Frolicking he skips with mirth
O'er the bright enamelled earth.

Riding high amid the crowd,
On his elephant, the cloud;
Marshalling his kingly train
Thus he comes, the Rain! The Rain!

H. W. B. MORENO.

According to Thomas Campbell, it is one of the crimes of Horace Walpole that he said, with reference to Chatterton, that "singing birds should not be too well fed."

ISLAM AND THE MODERN WORLD.

Islam is said by some to be hide-bound, narrow, averse from advancing with the times. No charge could be falser or less in accord with the judgement of history. It is not only now that Islam has been accommodating itself to the needs of the times. It has done so through the ages.¹

Its liberal principles have found yet more liberal exponents. Witness the entire Islamic literature! Does the history of the world show another literature more catholic in taste, more liberal in principles, more generous in sentiments, more universal in tone and accent, than the Islamic? Is there one narrow, parochial note in the splendid array of the Muslim poets, who are the glory of the Islamic world. From Sanāi to Ghālīb, there is not one who has not preached the "truth of all religions" and the doctrine of the "brotherhood of man." It thrills me with joy and fills me with hope when I read this literature,—the proudest legacy of the vast Islamic world.

Yes, liberal exponents! And there has always been an age-long war on the part of these liberal exponents, the party of acceleration, with those reactionaries, the party calling for the brake. But the liberal exponents throughout Islamic history have invariably won the day. I shall now review this phase of Islamic development, and take account of the enormous changes that have come over Islam under the impact of European learning and politics. Could Islam have attained and maintained its world-wide empire for centuries if it had refused to move with the times, if it had irrevocably fixed its gaze on the past, and had declined to look forward to the future for yet larger hopes and yet brighter prospects? Could Islam be to-day what it is if

¹ An old objection traceable to the "Fathers of Islam" (Aslāf) says "that criticism of the contents of the revelation is immoral; for man arrogates to himself thereby the power of judging things divine and so incurs the liability of falling into an error." The "Savants" of Islam successfully fought this prejudice for it barred the way to freedom of thought. And their success far surpassed their expectations. They not only won the battle "for the right to think and criticise," but they also secured for such a right an assured place in Muslim culture. "To think and speculate" became a pious duty, nay, a necessity for the right understanding of the Quran. Horten, p. 112.

it was divorced from progress, shut off from light? I shall now pass on to the consideration of these fascinating questions.

Islam has never stood in the way of necessary changes to meet changed conditions,—I mean Islam as understood and interpreted by its liberal exponents. In the course of centuries, like other religions Islam has yielded to the pressure of progressive ideas, and has altered as much as any other great religion of the world. But in effecting these changes Islam adopted a method which was exclusively its own, and to that method we shall now direct our attention. We are not thinking here of the sects that sprang up, but of those changes which were wrought silently within the religion itself, here effacing ancient boundaries, there extending former frontiers, or actually winning over fresh territories. The old Arabs had a body of inherited views and practices which were the universally accepted standard of good or evil². Conformity to them was a duty; deviation from them a crime. We can imagine what hold such a heritage had on the Arab mind from the incontestable fact that the main ground of opposition to the Prophet's teachings was that he defied inherited views and challenged established practices. His teachings were not condemned on their merits. With the triumph of Islam the old *Sunna* of the Arabs was exchanged for the new *Sunna* of the conquering religion. This new *Sunna*, though widely differing from its predecessor, was like it in one respect, its universally binding force. The ideals and usages of the Prophet and his Companions henceforward became the standard of excellence, the rule of conduct, the kindly light of guidance. The result was that all views and practices not strictly in accordance with the *Sunna* were regarded as *Bid'a* (innovation), and as such were to be ruled out by the faithful. This rigid principle so fatal to progress could not long endure unbroken; and, as a matter of fact, it was broken in upon at an early date. The history of Islam therefore is the history of the conflict between these two opposing forces—the *Sunna* and the *Bid'a*, the one making for progress, the other acting as a check; the party of light and progress however always triumphing in the end.

After the victories of Islam and the establishment of the Muslim Empire, new needs arose, new problems called for solution, fresh administrative measures forced themselves upon the attention of the conquerors. All had to be faced and met. The *Sunna* as it lay to hand, forged in simple conditions of life, could not, in the nature of

² The Romans had them too. "You philosophers," says Cotta, "appeal to reason. I myself believe without reason, 'etiam nulla ratione reddita.'" The authority of my ancestors is sufficient for me,—Cicero, *On The Nature of Gods*.

things, deal with the complex situation that had now arisen. The difficulty was solved in a practical way. Muslim Jurists and Statesmen, always fertile in resources to meet the exigencies of the times, put forward the theory that, in certain circumstances, *Bid'a* was permissible. This opened the door for reform; this led to the path of progress. The rigidity of orthodoxy could always be softened, or even, as was actually the case, circumvented by this all-powerful theory, sanctioning innovation in certain circumstances. The channel through which it was effected was *Ijmā*, consensus of opinion. It was laid down that long-standing usage legalised a practice, though not in conformity with, nay, even in opposition to, the practices of an earlier age. To such a practice *Ijmā* gave a prescriptive title, an authority, a binding force, which could not be assailed or called in question.

As Dr. Goldziher shrewdly points out, the strange irony of the resultant situation is that "he who demands the earlier practice is repudiated as an innovator³." The most extraordinary instance of this change of attitude is in the universal observance of *Maulūd-al-Nabī*, which, as late as the 8th century A.D., was challenged by the theologians of Islam, but is now an essential part of Muslim life. And it is precisely the same with other religious festivals and liturgical ordinances. Could there be anything more foreign to the spirit of Islam than the worship of saints and shrines, the farcical display of grief *cum* merry-making on the 10th of Mohurram, and many other practices which have crept into the religion of the Prophet? *Bid'a* therefore has let light into Islam, but it has also let in diverse corrupt practices in vogue amongst the subject-races with whom Muslims came into contact, thus drastically and fundamentally metamorphosing Islam.

The necessity for conforming to altered conditions became clearer and clearer and more and more insistent as the years went by, until popular opinion accepted the view that departures from *Sunna* to suit the needs of the times were in no way inconsistent with Islam. This was a long step forward. "In one of the four orthodox sects, the one linked with the name of Malik Ibn Anas⁴, the *Maslaha*, *utilitas publica* or the common interest, was recognised as the normal point of view in the application of law. It was permitted to deviate from the normal law if it could be shown that the interest of the community demanded a different decision from that given in the law, corresponding to the principle of *corrigere jus propter utilitatem publicam* in

³ Goldziher, *Mohammed and Islam*, p. 298.

⁴ Goldziher, p. 299; Khuda Bukhsh, "Orient under the Caliphs" p. 408; Ibn Khaldun, "Proleg." Vol. III, 26, 28.

Roman Law. This liberty, to be sure, is restricted to each case as it arises, and does not carry with it a definite setting aside of the law. But the principle involved is, in "itself, an indication of the willingness to make concessions within the law." Significant is an important utterance of the highly esteemed theologian Al Zurkani (d. 1122/1710 in Cairo), who, in a passage in his commentary to the code (*Muwatta*) of Malik, distinctly asserts that "decisions may be made in the measure of new circumstances;" "There is nothing strange," he concludes, "in the view that laws must accommodate themselves to circumstances"⁵.

It is not right, then, to say that Islam is a hide-bound system, challenging the progressive spirit, opposed to necessary reforms and salutary changes. Despite occasional halts and back-slidings, historical development has been the marked characteristic of Islamic history. Could the numerous sects have arisen in Islam if Islam had strangled thought, crushed free-thinking? We are not unaware of the efforts of Imam Ibn Hambal, and of Ibn Taimiyya (in the XIVth century), to stem the tide of progress, nor are we insensible of the efforts of the Wahhabi movement to recall the days and emphasize the practices of the Prophet. But what movement can successfully resist the march of time? Did not Ghazzali, who united in himself the spirit of Islam and the spirit of progress, become the beacon-light of the Muslims, and his point of view the criterion of the orthodox Sunni school? Did he not successfully fight the reactionary policy of the Hambalites, who did their very utmost to combat historical development?

But the modern world has witnessed, and is actually witnessing to-day, most amazing developments in Islam. Western influences have powerfully leavened Muslim thought, just as Christian thought influenced Islam at its birth and during its adolescence. This for two reasons: Western influences do not, in any way, affect the central unity of Muslim thought; and again, in Islam there is no opposing force, such as an Oecumenical Council, to combat or thwart such influences. The unity of Muslim thought consists in the belief that there is one God, and that Mohammed is His apostle. The rest does not count, or counts very little. Coupled with this is the absence of any recognised ecclesiastical authority to call a halt to the advance of modernism or to punish departures from the path of strict orthodoxy. The cries of "Heresy,"—not infrequently heard, soon die away⁶. The heretic

⁵ On Malik Ibn Anas, see "*Orient under the Caliphs*," 376, 378. Goldziher "*Die Zahiriten*," p. 13, apud "*Orient under the Caliphs*," p. 396, note.

⁶ Snouck Hurgronje, *Mohammedanism*, 156-7.

of one age is the apostle of the next. Was not Sir Syed Ahmad of Aligarh such a one? Western civilisation has shaken Muslims out of their slumber. Everywhere, in India, in Egypt, in Persia, in Turkey, wheresoever we turn, Muslims are pulsing with new life, viewing problems from the modern standpoint, forging fresh rules of religious interpretation, reconciling the needs of the hour with their allegiance to the past, justifying modern institutions by appeals to the Quran and the traditions of the Prophet, striving to close the breach between the two great sects which divide the Islamic world.

Tremendous changes are being introduced into Islam. Basing themselves on an independent interpretation of the Quran, eminent Muslim scholars are making strenuous efforts to liberate Islam from the fetters of Authority, from the Dead Hand of past ages. Concession to the demands of the times being admitted, these concessions are justified by appeals to the Quran and the traditions of the Prophet. Whether the appeal be real or illusory, the fact of the appeal is one more instance of the utility of legal fiction in the history of human development.

By a special *Fatwa* the Egyptian "Mufti," Shaikh Mohammed Abduh (d. 1905) sanctioned the establishment of Saving Banks and the distribution of dividends; and by a similar process, his colleagues in Constantinople enabled the Ottoman Government to issue interest-bearing State bonds. Of a piece with these is the legalization of insurance policies, which the ancient Muslim Law, if "strictly" interpreted, does not appear to permit.

Like the demands for the furtherance of cultural and economic progress, those for modern forms of Government are similarly supported by the Quran and the traditions. In politics too the justification for parliamentary government is found in the Quran, and the Shiite Mullahs base the claims of the revolutionists on the doctrine of the hidden Imam⁷. But yet wider movements are the flower and fruit of Western culture in Eastern lands.

Look at the Babi movement in Persia! What else is that but a war-cry against the petrified theology and outworn legal conceptions of the Mullahs? What else but an attack upon their hypocrisy and worldliness? What else but an attempt to establish a more equitable social order? The founder of Babiism combines Pythagorean subtleties with a distinctly modern point of view.

⁷ Goldziher, *Mohamed and Islam*, p. 301.

Bahaism, an offshoot of Babiism, takes us a step yet further on the path of liberalism. "While Bab, at bottom, was only a reformer of Islam, Baha advanced to the larger conception of a world-religion which was to unite all mankind in a religious brotherhood. As, in his political teachings, he professes cosmopolitanism,—emphasizing that there is no preference to be given to him who loves his country over him who loves humanity—his religion in this matter was stripped of all narrow sectarianism"⁸. Nor is India behindhand. Here, too, Mirza Gholam Ahmad of Qadian has inaugurated a religious movement of tremendous force and potency. He condemns fanaticism; advocates peace and tolerance; seeks to create an atmosphere favourable to culture; and stresses the necessity of the ethical virtues for Muslims. It is idle to deny the great gift made to the East by Christendom. As a civilization it has permeated Eastern life through and through in all its phases and aspects, social, intellectual, economic, religious. It has taught the spirit of compromise, and the necessity for concession to modern thought. It has weakened the force of merely inherited ideas and customs. It has slackened the hold of unreasoning orthodoxy, and driven home the need for a critical differentiation between fundamental principles and mere fleeting accretions. It has helped the Faithful to realise that their Paradise can be found as assuredly on this earth as it is said to await them in the life beyond the grave.

In the past, as we have shown, the fundamentals of Christian and Mohammedan culture were identical. Are they not moving to the same goal now?

Europe is to-day paying back the debt which it owed to Islam in the Middle Ages. The quarrel between them was and is a quarrel due to pure misunderstanding. Islam, as has been repeatedly pointed out by recent European writers, is the nearest approach to Christianity. But in spite of misunderstandings, even the Middle Ages did not quite fail to appreciate this truth. John Cantacuzene, the Greek Emperor of Constantinople, who calls himself in the title of his book "the most pious and Christ-loving King," treats his Turkish foes not as pagans but as "sectaries," and Dante himself places Mohammed in the "Inferno" not as a heathen but as a heretic. True Islam is true Christianity, their mission being identical. In the language of the Apostle James: "Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction,

⁸ Goldziher, p. 317.

and to keep oneself unspotted from the world." This is the burden of all religions, and this the essence of Islam.

Muslims have gone further than the Greek Emperor and the Florentine poet in charity and toleration. Sana'i, Jami, Sai'b, Ghalib, free and unfettered, look upon "all" religions as one and the same. Nor does that outlook in any way differ from the general outlook of enlightened Islam!

S. KHUDA BUKHSH.

Grace of manner conduces to the appreciation of matter, and truth is not less true for being agreeably presented.

THE NAWABS OF THE CARNATIC.

III.

Chanda Sahib's short-lived Triumph.

The Accession of Chanda Sahib.

After their victory at Ambur, Muzaffar Jang and Chanda Sahib entered Arcot in triumph, where the latter was formally invested by the former with the government of the Carnatic. There was a general spirit of submission to the new authority, and some time was spent in organising the administration and collecting arrears of tribute and contributions. Orme says that all the local chiefs were struck with consternation at this sudden revolution, and of those who wished ill to Chanda Sahib, the most prominent was the Raja of Tanjore, who had long been disliked by the new Nawab. "The news of the battle of Amboor reached Tanjore while the English troops under the command of Major Lawrence were in the country, and struck the king with so much terror, that to gain their friendship, or even to make them cease hostilities at this critical juncture, he would, if insisted on, have agreed to much harder terms than those which the English imposed."¹ Mir Asad, who had been Diwan to the Nawabs Dost Ali and Safdar Ali and was now killedar of Chētpattu, was coerced by French soldiers into making terms with Chanda Sahib. Mir Asad however wrote in November to the English "complaining that they had not congratulated him on his successful resistance."² The English Governor of Fort St. David (the seat of the Presidency was moved back to Madras only in 1752) is said to have complimented Chanda Sahib on his accession; but Elphinstone says that "this precipitation, though not inconsistent with the timid policy of the English, rests on the authority of the French alone and is most positively denied by the English."³ The English

¹ Orme, *History of Indostan* (1861 ed.), Vol. I, p. 130.

² *Country Correspondence*, 1749, p. 54, quoted in *The Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, Vol. VI (1918), p. 154.

³ The authorities referred to by him are (1) *Memoire pour M. Dupleix*,—p. 46 gives the French version. (2) Cambridge, *War in the Carnatic*,—the appendix gives the account of the French, as well as the English denial and repudiation of it.

however offered no opposition to the proceedings of the allies, and appear to have been lost in perplexity at the rapid progress of their rivals, to which they knew not on what ground to object."⁴

Chanda and Muzaffar Jang at Pondicherry.

Murtiza Ali of Vellore paid 7 lakhs of rupees to the victors for being reconciled to them. After some time spent in collecting contributions, they moved towards Pondicherry, but not before giving a donation of Rs. 20,000 to the French officers with them, who "found Chanda Sahib slow in rewarding their valour. Their reception at Pondicherry towards the end of September (1749) is described at great length by Ananda Ranga Pillai;⁵ it was attended with pomp and ceremonial of an extraordinary kind, in order to raise in Muzaffar Jang "a high opinion of the magnificence and grandeur of the French nation."

More important than the ceremonial was the narrative of his own life by Chanda Sahib to Dupleix and his wife,—as related in the words of Ranga Pillai, the Diarist;—"I was carried prisoner to Satara by the Marathas and was kept there. They treated me ill and imprisoned me in the Fort. Afterwards my fortune turned, God protected me, and having made terms with the Marathas, I left Satara with some Maratha horsemen and some troops. Then I helped in the fight at Chittirakal Baman (in the attempt to bring the Raja of Bednore under submission to Muzaffar Jang), where my eldest son, Abid Sahib, perished. Then Hedayat Muhi-ud-din Khan Bahadur Muzaffar Jang received the Padshah's *parwāna* for the Deccan countries in the place of Nasir Jang, protected me, and promising to give me the subah of Arcot, brought me with him. You were pleased to send my son Raza Sahib with soldiers, sepoys, guns, mortars, shot, powder, shell and other munition against Arcot, slew my enemy, Anwar-ud-din Khan, and established my fame by many victories. So by your help I have won Arcot, and my life is yours."⁶

Chanda Sahib later on told the Diarist, in order that it might be communicated to the Governor, the following: "If you will send troops to settle my business with Tanjore and Trichinopoly, I will give many villages as an inam (besides those you now enjoy), and pay the

⁴ *Rise of the British Power in the East*, ed. by E. Colebrooke (1887), p. 131.

⁵ *Diary*, Vol. VI, pp. 185—190. Malleon in his *History of the French in India* (1893), p. 240, gives the sources, including correspondence and official documents, on which his account of the reception and the doings of the three at Pondicherry are based.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 185-6.

Governor one or two lakhs and reward you also suitably; thus I shall be able to settle the Trichinopoly matter. . . . French troops will march to Amangabad; and Masulipatam and other sea-ports shall be given to the French. I will also give a Jagir there. Moreover I will conquer all the countries from Mysore up to the Narmada and rule as the Nizam did formerly. The Marathas are coming to assist me with a lakh of horsemen, under Sau Baji Rao, Fatteh Singh and others. . . .”

This passage is like a presage of the coming triumphs of Dupleix and the concessions to be given to the French by the Nizam.

Dupleix asked Chanda Sahib to write a Persian letter to the Portuguese Viceroy of Goa in the following terms: “I cannot endure that the English should thus (by plundering San Thomé)⁸ dishonour the Portuguese. . . . If you send ships of war, soldiers and ammunition to attack Madras, Cuddalore and Fort St. David, I will march with my forces, fight them and punish them. Please regard the letters which M. Dupleix, the General of Pondicherry, writes to you about this at my request as my own and act as the letters require.”

The Action of the English.

While Chanda Sahib and Dupleix were discussing their plans for further action, the English were not idle. They felt greatly disturbed at the success of Chanda Sahib and at the ambitious designs openly displayed by Dupleix. They had but just retaken possession of Madras. Their own proceedings against Tanjore⁹ destroyed the propriety of any protests against Dupleix’s conduct; for they could accuse him of nothing which they had not themselves done. They repented of their Tanjore enterprise; their restored Madras was very weak; its Indian population had greatly fallen.¹⁰ They had not anticipated

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

⁸ This refers to Admiral Boscawen’s deportation of some priests of San Thomé, as they were suspected of having given the French information about the strength and garrison of Madras; and to his subsequent capture of San Thomé, on the ground that Dupleix was planning to acquire it. The Viceroy of Goa wrote a letter to the English Governor at Fort St. David making a claim to the place. (Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. II, pp. 396-99); also Orme, *History of Indostan*, Book II, p. 131 in the ed. of 1861.

⁹ The English on promise of the territory of Devikotta sent an expedition to reinstate the deposed Raja of Tanjore, but though accompanied by the latter they failed in their attack on the place, and were satisfied to get it by treaty from the usurper.

¹⁰ Ranga Pillai says that though the restoration was followed by the flocking back to it of a number of its old inhabitants, Madras had become “the Little City instead of the Golden City as it once was called,” and that it would take 20 or 30 more years for it once more to become prosperous—*Diary*, Vol. VI, pp. 158-160.

Dupleix's plans and they still paid some respect to the Mughal Government. They were in some uncertainty as to Muhammad Ali's title, but the latter asserted vigorously from his stronghold of Trichinopoly that Nasir Jang was the real Nizam appointed by the Great Mughal, and that he himself was the rightful Nawab of the Carnatic "having obtained the reversion of the Nawabship from Nizam-ul-Mulk." He also gave out that he expected immediate confirmation of his title from Nasir Jang, and soon afterwards "affirmed that he had actually received the patents of his appointment."

Thus the English were in two minds as to their course of action. They were unwilling to be involved in the quarrels of the Indian powers and were restrained by a spirit of caution. Orme says they should have kept Admiral Boscawen on the coast and joined their whole strength with Muhammad Ali, "without considering who was or was not authorised to fight in the Carnatic." They allowed Boscawen to depart with his fleet and sent only a small force to Muhammad Ali's help.

Here there is a difficulty. Mr. Dodwell, the learned editor of Ananda Ranga Pillai's *Diary*, says that Orme's belief that Boscawen himself wished to intervene effectively and was only prevented from so doing by Governor Floyer's refusal to make an official request to that effect, is difficult to accept, on an examination of the official records. Boscawen himself nowhere mentions his wish to remain on the coast, and left it in consequence of orders from the Admiralty which were "sufficiently categorical to explain his departure even at so remarkable a crisis." (21st October, 1749). He left behind a body of 530 men, and not 300 as Malleson says,¹¹ with the authority of Orme evidently, who wrote: "The French were so sensible of the great advantages they derived from Mr. Boscawen's departure that they could not immediately bring themselves to believe he intended to quit India; but imagined that he had only left the coast to avoid the stormy monsoon, and purposed to return as soon as that season was passed. However they were prepared to take advantage even of this absence, short as they supposed it; and the very next day Muzaffar Jang's army, accompanied by 800 Europeans, 300 Caffres and Topasses, with a train

¹¹ Dodwell's *Introduction* to Ananda Ranga Pillai's *Diary*, Vol. VI, pp. IX & X. Chanda Sahib, according to Malleson (*History of the French in India* (1893), p. 242) feared that his advance on Trichinopoly might act as a final inducement to Boscawen to remain and impel the English to cast in their lot with Muhammad Ali, and for days he hesitated as to his action, preferring to wait "at all events in the hope that the October gales might compel the departure of so dangerous an enemy."

of artillery, began to march from Pondicherry, and crossing the river Coleroon, entered the kingdom of Tanjore."¹²

Chanda Sahib's Attack on Tanjore.

Chanda Sahib joined Muzaffar Jang, who was encamped about 20 miles from Pondicherry, and both set out "to replenish their purses, rather than to complete their conquests." The former turned aside to exact tribute from the chief of Udayarpalaiyam, and after spending two weeks there in exacting tribute from him, rejoined Muzaffar Jang, and both marched on the city of Tanjore in December. They were in acute want of money and frequently fell out with each other, as we learn from the *Diarist of Pondicherry*. Muzaffar Jang heard that his rival, Nasir Jang, had begun his southward march from Aurangabad and had ordered the Nawabs of Cuddapah and Kandanur to seize the fort of Adoni, and that he should return immediately to the securing of his own dominions. Chanda Sahib dissuaded him from departing, saying: "It will take four months for Nasir Jang to get here. Meanwhile we should keep together, destroy the enemy and conquer as far as Aurangabad." After this they swore on the Quran and promised to act together, and Chanda Sahib agreed to give the other two *parganahs* worth 10 lakhs of rupees and pay also some ready money.

The attack on Tanjore was met by the Raja's the announcing his willingness to negotiate, while at the same time he sent pressing messages to the English and to Nasir Jang for assistance. For some days the negotiations continued without any appreciable result. From the *Diary of Ranga Pillai* it appears that Dupleix himself, so far from disapproving of this Tanjore episode,¹³ took the greatest interest in the affair and eagerly asked the *Diarist* whether Chanda Sahib would really get from the Raja the half-a-crore that he was talking of; and if he should be helped with an army which would conquer the country as far as Aurangabad. Chanda Sahib was also encouraged in his enterprise by a son of the Nawab of Cuddapah, who urged him in a letter to keep Gingi Fort and conquer Tanjore and Trichinopoly and strengthen his alliance with Muzaffar Jang.¹⁴

Chanda Sahib captured one of the gates of the Tanjore Fort on December 17th; on this the Raja sought terms, but he seems "to have

¹² Orme, Vol. I., Bk. II, p. 133. Writing on October 24th Ranga Pillai heard that Boscawen had postponed his journey to Europe, fearing that Chanda Sahib might capture Cuddalore and Fort St. David (*Diary*, Vol. VI, p. 223).

¹³ As asserted by Malleison.

¹⁴ Vol. VI. p. 272.

been so alarmed at the demands made that he suddenly attacked his enemies and is related to have driven them from the gate which they had been holding." After some delay he agreed to pay 70 lakhs of rupees and give a *parwana* for 80 villages as an *inam* attached to Karikal, besides making a donation to the sepoys.

Report credited Chanda Sahib with a design to establish his son as the Nawab of Tanjore.¹⁵ Anyhow, either because payment of the stipulated sum was evaded by the Raja on various grounds, or because it was his old passion for conquest that led Chanda Sahib on to Tanjore, he now began preparations for a second attack on Tanjore (February, 1750), informing Dupleix that he had only refrained from capturing Tanjore out of consideration for the Marathas, and now that Shahu Raja was dead he proposed to capture the place. Dupleix tried to explain to the messenger who brought the news that the great men of the Maratha Kingdom might be angry with Chanda Sahib for attacking Tanjore and might make friends with Nasir Jang against him; but he did not press his objections strongly, though he feared a general plunder in case Chanda Sahib should succeed in capturing the Fort. He was willing enough that Tanjore should be taken, if the danger of Maratha alienation were not imminent; when he heard that ambassadors from Nasir Jang were proceeding to Trichinopoly to offer terms to Muzaffar Jang, he said: "Write to Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang that they owe their power to me, that we are as three heads under one hat, that we shall come to naught if one of us be destroyed; no agreement therefore should be made with Nasir Jang without my consent."¹⁶

Chanda Sahib was too busy with the Tanjore affair to think of the consequences of Nasir Jang's approach. Moreover he suspected that Muzaffar Jang was spreading false news of Nasir Jang's approach in order to be enabled to get a share for himself in the Tanjore affair; nor would he allow the French commandant to attack the city; and it appears that Tanjore was saved from capture "neither by the deceitful wiles of the (its) king, nor by the panic which the approach of Nasir Jang was to cause, but by the fact that Chanda Sahib was anxious to secure the treasure in the city for himself and that he feared the consequences of a storm,"¹⁷ in the course of which even the sepoys under the French could not be prevented from resorting to plunder, not to speak of his own men.

¹⁵ Quoted as footnote to p. 363 in Ranga Pillai's *Diary*, Vol. VI.

¹⁶ *Diary*, Vol. VI, p. 367.

¹⁷ Dodwell, in the Introduction to Ranga Pillai's *Diary*, Vol. VI.

Nasir Jang's Invasion of the Carnatic.

In the meantime, when Chanda Sahib was still employed before Tanjore he had designed to send his son Raza Sahib with an army against Murtaza Ali Khan of Vellore, the murderer of Safdar Ali and the destroyer of the Navayet power in the Carnatic; but Dupleix had advised him that he should concentrate his attention and energy on the Tanjore and Trichinopoly affairs, and it was wisdom of action or of policy to have his troops dispersed.

In March, 1750, news was received that Nasir Jang had already entered the Carnatic and was sending his guns, etc., to the Chengamma Pass. Dupleix had long believed that Nasir Jang was too deeply involved in hostility with the Marathas to undertake an invasion of the Carnatic, which would leave his northern frontier exposed to their attacks. "Even at the close of January he and Chanda Sahib were buoying themselves up with the hope that Nasir Jang's followers would prove friends of Muzaffar Jang." Even when he actually received an embassy from Nasir Jang on his march, Dupleix did not apprehend much trouble, but was only eager to press for a settlement in which French interests would be safe-guarded, and he continued to maintain that Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang should not negotiate independently without his own sanction or even initiative.

Nasir Jang, finding that Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang were not inclined to submit, ordered all his feudatories living to the south of the Krishna to be ready to follow him, hired three bodies of Maratha troopers of about 10,000 men each, to act as the hussars of the army. One of these was under the command of Murari Rao, who was left the Governor of Trichinopoly when that city was taken from Chanda Sahib, and who had made a politic submission to Nizam-ul-Mulk. The advance-guard under Murari Rao reached the bank of the Coleroon, the boundary-river between the Carnatic and Tanjore, about the middle of February, where they met the retreating army of Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang, accompanied by the French battalion. The Marathas harassed the enemy's line of march frequently; and though often repulsed by the heavy fire of the French artillery, kept on harassing and attacking the retreating army till the latter arrived near Pondicherry. The fear inspired by Nasir Jang's invasion in the minds of the French allies is thus described in a letter from M. de la Touche to Dupleix, which is quoted in Ranga Pillai's *Diary*:¹⁸ "I cannot express the fear of

¹⁸ Vol. VI, p. 385.

Chanda Sahib and Hidayat Muhī-ud-din Khan (Muzaffar Jang). They have only escaped because we were there to help them; otherwise they would have died the day on which they heard that Nasir Jang had left the passes." These were later on confirmed by M. Bussy, who had also been in camp. Dupleix of course urged these two to fight it out bravely; while Raza Sahib volunteered to go out with his father and meet them in open battle. Chanda Sahib however would have liked to lie within the shelter of the guns and walls of Pondicherry till Nasir Jang's thousands should have eaten up the country and withdrawn from mere hunger. Nasir Jang did not gauge the state of mind of his enemies and was prepared to offer terms to the two pretenders, promising to give them both jaghirs and repay their debts to the French.

The Situation on the eve of the Revolution.

This was the situation on the eve of the remarkable revolution that ended in the assassination of Nasir Jang and the sudden elevation of Dupleix's nominees. The English had good warning of Dupleix's intentions towards them, first in the matter of San Thomé, which Boscawen had to seize and which they had to legitimise by a grant from Muhammad Ali; next by despatching a body of men, small though it might be, to the help of Muhammad Ali at Trichinopoly and with the hope that at Nasir Jang's coming the cause of Chanda Sahib would collapse and lastly by sending a body of men under Major Lawrence to the camp of Nasir Jang, whom they had invited to hasten. Hence the political revolution about to be enacted was also to begin a fresh war between the English and the French.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI.

THE LIGHT OF LIFE.

When thou art near
The sorrows fall from me,
As the ripe leaves drop
From a parent tree
To the cool green sward beneath.

When thou hast gone
Care lines my face
With cruel fingers;
Sorrow comes apace
Like night after radiant day.

THE SONG OF LOVE.

O' pale hands at my heart-strings
That wander o'er the chords,
Why wonder when my soul springs
Thy love towards?

Sweet lips upon my heart-strings
Responding like a lute,
Thine is the theme my soul sings,
I am mute.

LELAND J. BERRY.

BURMA RECORDS IN THE IMPERIAL RECORD DEPARTMENT (1753-1859).

Though the English East India Company had commercial inter-
1753-68. course with Burma from the early part of the seven-
teenth century, no record of their transactions previous to the year 1753
is to be found in the archives of the Government of India. The oldest
records in the Imperial Record Office date from 1748 and appertain to
the Public Branch of the Home Department. The earliest references
relating to Burma embodied in this series of papers are confined to items
of routine. The first noticeable event happened in the year 1757 when
the East India Company obtained from King Alaungpaya the grant of
the island of Negrais (modern Hainggyi, at the mouth of the Bassein
river, near the delta of the Irrawaddy), together with a piece of ground
for the erection of a factory at Persaim (Bassein). Two years later
the Burmans treacherously murdered the Englishmen at Negrais, but
the evil effect of this reverse did not last long for the East India Com-
pany succeeded in getting from the Burmese Government a second
grant of land at Bassein in 1761. In 1768 Lord Clive obtained from
the King of Burma the grant of a piece of land at Rangoon to establish
a factory and to construct a Bankshall to repair and rebuild ships.

The year 1762 saw the opening of diplomatic relations between
1762. the East India Company and Manipur. Hari Das
Gossain, the Vakil of the Raja of Manipur, came to Mr. Verelst at
Chittagong to form an alliance with the English against the Burmans.
The Burmans took possession of Manipur several times, but during the
first Burmese War (1824-26) the real rulers were restored to the king-
dom of Manipur, and this was confirmed by the treaty of Yandabo in
February, 1826.

In 1777 the King of Siam invited the English to trade with his
1777. country and wanted to form an alliance with them
against the coalition of the Burmans and the French. The King asked
for arms from the English in order to capture Mergui, and agreed to
make it over to the English in return for the help received.

In the same year a proposal was put forward for the survey of the
1777-89. Arakan coast but this was postponed to some subse-
quent period. A rough sketch of an extensive survey of the coast of
the Bay of Bengal, including that of Arakan and Ava, commencing from

the island of Cheduba, was submitted by Mr. W. Hollings in 1789 to Earl Cornwallis, the then Governor-General of India.

The records of the Public Branch of the Home Department towards the end of the eighteenth century contain reports about the capture and detention of English vessels by the Burmans.

The records of the Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India contain much historical and interesting materials relating to Burma. It is only possible to refer in a general way to these records here.

Arakan was conquered by the Burmans in 1784, but attempts were made by the Arakanese from time to time to free themselves from the Burman yoke and several of them fled to Chittagong. Disputes arose with the Burmese Government in connection with the extradition of these fugitives. These disputes were, however, temporarily settled in 1794. The next year Captain Michael Symes was deputed by the British Government as Envoy to the Court of Ava to strengthen the commercial and political relationship with that Government. As a result of this embassy a British Agent was permitted to reside at Rangoon to protect the interests of the British subjects and their trade. By virtue of this arrangement Captain Cox was appointed Superintendent of Rangoon in 1796. He proceeded to the Court of Ava to deliver presents to the king, but having met with much contumacious behaviour he had to retire to Rangoon, and eventually to Bengal towards the end of 1797.

In the same year the Raja of Arakan demanded in an insolent manner in the name of the king of Ava the delivery of the Burmese subjects who had taken refuge at Chittagong. In 1798 the Marquess of Wellesley sent another embassy to the Court of Ava under Captain Symes, with the object of checking the French in their attempt to secure a footing in Burma. This mission, however, proved unsuccessful and he left for Bengal in 1803. In the same year Captain Canning was appointed Agent to the Governor-General at Rangoon. Owing to the overbearing conduct of the Local Officers at Rangoon, Captain Canning was forced to return to Bengal. In 1809 Captain Canning was again deputed to Rangoon in the same capacity. This time he was well received by the Court of Ava and returned after accomplishing his object.

The Arakanese once more rebelled under the leadership of Khyen Bran, a Mugh Chief in 1811. The Burmese Government suspected that the insurrection had been instigated and supported

by the British Government. To remove this impression Captain Canning was once more sent on a mission to Ava. This mission was, however, unsuccessful, and the envoy, after experiencing many indignities at Rangoon and encountering personal perils on the way, returned to Bengal without even communicating with the Court of Ava.

When Assam was overrun and declared a Burmese province in 1822-6. 1822, orders were issued from the Military Department for the adoption of measures for strengthening the line of defence on the Assam frontier against the inroads of the Burmese. Aggression on the part of the Burmese from the provinces of Arakan and Assam into British territory led to hostilities with the British and war was declared against Burma in March, 1824. The Burmans under the leadership of their great commander Maha Bandula, who was recalled from Arakan to check the advance of the English, fought with great vigour but, although they outnumbered the British, they were eventually defeated. Peace was concluded in February, 1826 by the treaty of Yandabo. By this treaty the Arakan and Tenasserim provinces were ceded to the British. The Burmese Government had also to abandon their claims on Assam and the small states in its vicinity, besides having to pay a war indemnity. Each Government was empowered to maintain a Resident at the Court of the other, and it was stipulated that a commercial treaty would afterwards be negotiated. Thus ended the First Burmese War.

In connection with the commercial treaty mentioned above, we find 1826. in the report of Mr. Crawford, Civil Commissioner of Pegu and Ava, interesting information about the foreign trade of Burma. The following quotation may prove interesting:—

“ It (Foreign Trade) is conducted by land with China and by sea with the principal ports of British India. The Burmans are said to have exported at one time to the Chinese province of Yanan 1,00,000 bales of cotton of 368 pounds each bale. . . The Chinese paid for the cotton in gold and silver bullion. . . and in raw and wrought silks. The exports from Ava seaways consist of teakwood, orpiment, elephants’ teeth, terra japonica, cardamoms, sapon-wood, stick-lac, earth oil, fish maws, bees wax, pearls and silver bullion. Of these, teakwood has always formed by far the material article. . . About 10,000 loads of timber are annually exported exclusive of what is brought by the Burmans along the Sunderbands. . . According to Custom House returns of Calcutta the whole value of importation from Pegu amounted in 1823-24 to Rs. 3,67,762, of which Rs. 2,64,176 consisted of teak, Rs. 20,000 of pearls and 33,993 of bullion. . . The imports into the Burman Empire from

British India consist of Indian and British cotton goods. . . woollens, etc., raw silk, hardware, coarse earthenware, glassware, sugar and spirits." For fuller information about commercial affairs in Burma in later years we must turn to the collection of records in the Imperial Record Department known as the Tenasserim papers.

To return to the political affairs of Burma, Colonel H. Burney was
1830-7. appointed Resident at the Court of Ava in 1830. He remained there till June, 1837, when with the removal of the capital from Ava to Kyouk-Myoung he returned to Rangoon and asked for permission to come to the Presidency. From his report we find that the then king claimed the restoration of Arakan, Assam, Manipur, etc., to the Burman Empire on the frivolous ground that the treaty of Yandabo was not binding upon him, having been executed with his predecessor and the late Government, and not with him. In season and out of season this king spoke of repudiating the treaty. From the report of Colonel Burney we get an insight into the chaotic state of Ava in which it was thrown on account of the removal of the capital to Kyouk-Myoung. The land was given up to robber-rule and neither the property nor the life of strangers was safe. No redress could be had from the king himself, who, it seems, either connived at the outrages or was absolutely powerless.

Colonel Benson was appointed Resident at Ava in 1838, but had
1838-9. to be recalled after a year owing to the unfriendly attitude of King Tharawaddy, who once more made Amarapura his capital. During his rule the relations between the two Governments became more and more strained. For several years after no attempt was made to maintain friendly political intercourse with the Burmese Court. The oppressions to which masters of British Merchant
1851-2. vessels were subjected, the insult offered by the Governor of Rangoon to a deputation from Commodore Lambert, and the warlike preparations made by the Court at Amarapura compelled
1852. the Governor-General to send to the Burmese authorities an ultimatum containing the demands of the British Government. Soon after hostilities broke out between the two Governments. The
1852-3. second Burmese war brought new possessions to the British, and Martaban, Rangoon, Bassein, Prome and Pegu passed into their hands. A proclamation was issued annexing Pegu, and a treaty providing for the cession was prepared, but this document was never ratified.

In 1854 the Burmese Government deputed two envoys and some
1854. subordinate officials to convey a complimentary letter

and presents from the King to the Governor-General. A return embassy
 1855. under Major Phayre was also received by the Govern-
 ment of Ava in the most friendly manner. The King, however, strongly
 objected to signing any treaty giving up the province of Pegu. Measures
 were then taken for the occupation of the province, which passed to the
 1857. British without formal cession. In 1857 the
 Burmese capital was removed from Amarapura to Mandalay.

The above note is based on the regular series of the Public and the
 Foreign and Political Department records and it has only been possible
 to refer to some of the records in a very general way. In addition to
 the regular proceedings of the Foreign and Political Department there
 are a number of volumes in the Miscellaneous Series of Records of that
 Department containing interesting information concerning Arakan,
 Burma, etc. These are as follows:—

Miscellaneous Records of the Foreign and Political Department :

- (1) *Arakan*—Copies of correspondence with the Special Commis-
 sioners in Arakan relating to various administrative questions, 1826-27.
- (2) *Arakan*—Correspondence with the Commissioners at Arakan,
 1830-2.
- (3) *Ava*—Captain S. F. Hannay's Journal of a mission to the
 North of Ava and a geographical sketch of the route to the amber mines,
 1835-6.
- (4) *Ava*—Correspondence with the Resident at Ava, 1830-2.
- (5) *Ava*—J. Crawford's Journal of a Mission to the Court of Ava,
 with a Supplementary Note explaining the objections urged against the
 conduct of the Mission, 1827.
- (6) *Ava*—Report and Journal of Major M. Symes respecting his
 Embassy to Ava, with appendices, 1803.
- (7) *Cochin China*—This volume contains a curious account of an
 embassy to Cochin China said to have been sent in 1822 by order of the
 Emperor of Ava. It gives interesting information respecting the move-
 ments of the French in Cochin China. The embassy was headed by
 G. Gibson and was composed of a number of local men.
- (8) *Manipur*—Papers relating to Manipur, October, 1830 to July,
 1832. Vols. I to III.
- (9) *Pegu*—Statistical statements of the villages in Pegu by Capt.
 H. A. Brown, Revenue Settlement Officer, 1859.
- (10) *Rangoon*—Copies of correspondence between J. Canning,
 Political Agent at Rangoon, and G. Swinton, Political Secretary, 1824.

This volume contains interesting information regarding the contemporary political events of Burma (incomplete).

(11) *Tenasserim*—Copies of correspondence with the Commissioners of the Tenasserim Province, 1826-7, 1831-2. These are interesting records of the early administration of the place.

(12) *Toungoo to Pegu*—Lieut. S. H. J. Parry's Route Book from Toungoo to Pegu, 1854.

Besides the above there are other records, which although forming part of the regular series of records of the Foreign Department have been kept separately and are known as:

- (1) The Tenasserim Papers,
- (2) Tenasserim and Martaban Proceedings, and
- (3) Bengal Original Political Papers.

The first of these, the Tenasserim Papers, cover the period between 1830 and 1854 and are enclosed in about 44 bundles. These are the original consultations of the Government of Bengal in various branches relating to the affairs of Tenasserim. They were evidently transferred to the Government of India when the latter took over the administration of that place into their own hands. Here we have the accounts of the successful commercial missions which Dr. D. Richardson and Captain W. McLeod undertook from Moulmein through the unknown lands of Burma during the years 1835-37. From the first report of Dr. Richardson (1835) one finds much topographical information about the regions through which he passed; further, full insight is got into the manners, customs, commerce, festivals and superstitions of their inhabitants in those days.

From these papers information is to be had about the first schools established at Moulmein, ship-building in Burma, the discovery of tin grounds, manganese beds, coal mines at Mergui and the manufacture of isinglass by the Burmans.

The Tenasserim and Martaban Proceedings, 1855-9, are abstracts of the weekly proceedings of the Commissioners of the Tenasserim and Martaban Provinces and are contained in five volumes. The last item—Bengal Original Political Papers, 1834-43—comprises original political consultations of the Government of Bengal, being a selection of papers relating to the Tenasserim Provinces and the Khasia Hills, together with other papers.

The records of the Military Department in the regular series also afford details about the military operations in Burma. In the Miscellaneous Series of records of this Department there is a volume called

Rangoon and Ava Intelligence,' being the report submitted by Major J. N. Jackson, 1824-7.

As stated before this is a mere outline of what can be found among the records of the Government of India deposited in the Imperial Record Department relating to Burma. For detailed information scholars and other research workers are advised to consult the records themselves.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI.

Wives have ever been jealous of the books of bibliophile husbands. Josiah Wedgwood, Prince of Potters, once wrote: "My wife tells me I must buy no more books until I build another house. She also advises me to read some of those I already have, before I buy more."

DARA SHIKUH AND THE FINE ARTS OF PAINTING AND CALLIGRAPHY.

Dara Shikuh, Prince, poet and philosopher, was among the most talented scions of the royal house of the Mughals. Catholic in spirit, refined in taste and generous in the patronage of Arts and Letters, he holds a unique position among the princes of the Mughal dynasty. Artists, composers and writers gathered round him and received their due share of reward and appreciation. Indeed, had he been fortunate in securing the throne of Delhi or even succeeded in escaping with his life, the death-knell of the fine art of Painting—the glorious product of the grand Mughals—would not have been rung so early.

Unfortunate as Dara was in more than one way, he was at least fortunate in having 'Abdur Rashid ad-Daylami, the last great *Nasta'liq* Calligrapher of India, as his teacher in penmanship. Circumstances brought this calligrapher to the court of Shah Jahan, who immediately appointed him to train his eldest son, Prince Dara Shikuh, in the art. We do not know when the calligrapher entered upon this duty, but some information in the matter may be gleaned from a very interesting and strikingly charming painting (see *Frontispiece*),¹ which portrays the scene of Dara Shikuh taking his first lesson in calligraphy. The painting, remarkable as it is for its fine illumination and ornamentation and the luxurious colour scheme, is undoubtedly of no mean historical value. Dara, as depicted in the painting, appears to be in his fourteenth or fifteenth year, and as such it may be concluded that he became a pupil of the Aqa about 1038 *Hijra*. However, I may point out in passing that the notes on the painting, which are undoubtedly of a later origin, are wholly misleading. They say that the old man facing Dara Shikuh is Mir 'Imad, the famous calligrapher of Persia, and that 'Abdur Rashid-ad-Daylami, his nephew and Dara Shikuh's teacher, is sitting a little below with a pen in one hand and a knife in the other. But the writer of the notes did not know, perhaps, that Mir 'Imad never came to India,

¹ The painting is in the collection of Mr. A. Ghosh.



Wild Ducks

(From a Mughal painting in the album of Prince Dara Shikuh)

and further, he was murdered in the very year in which Dara was born (i.e. 1024 Hijra).

Whatever may be the historical accuracy of the painting, this much is certain that Dara derived much benefit from the ability and skill of his master, the incomparable 'Abdur Rashid. He learned the art with a persistence and zeal which marked him out amongst the best pupils of the Aqa. The extant specimens of his calligraphy are a clear and conclusive proof of his ability as a penman, while the unanimous testimony of historians and biographers only goes to confirm this. One of them, the author of *Tadkhira-i-Khushnawisan*, commends him in the following words:—

“In spite of his busy life as a prince and occupation with literary work, few have written like him in imitation of the style of the Aqa.”²

The same biographer observes in another place that the Prince was among the best and the most “perfect” pupils of the Aqa. But it must not be supposed that Dara Shikuh excelled in *Nasta'liq* only; he was as good in *Naskh* as in *Nasta'liq*, the hand in which his master surpassed all his contemporaries and successors.

Of the available specimens of his *Nasta'liq* calligraphy, only *ten*³ are known to me, out of which I have been able to examine *three* only,

² Bib. Indica Series, p. 54.

³ They are:—(i) *Risala Hikmat-i-Arastu*, transcribed in 1041 A.H. The Ms. belongs to the Asifiya Library, Hyderabad (Deccan). (See the Urdu *Hand-list* of the Library, Vol. ii, pp. 1770, 1771).

(ii) *Dah Pand-i-Arastu*, written in a fine, clear hand, within gold-ruled borders. The Ms., which was transcribed in 1058 A.H. (1649 A.D.), is now preserved in the Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta. (See *Illustrated Catalogue of the Exhibits in the Victoria Memorial Hall*, Calcutta, p. 23).

(iii) *Sharh-i-Diwan-i-Hafiz* (by Saif-ud-Din Abul Hasan 'Abdur Rahman). The Ms., which belongs to the Asifiya Library, Hyderabad, is defective at the beginning, nor does it contain the date of transcription. (See the Urdu *Hand-list* of the Library, Vol. I, pp. 738, 739).

(iv) A note on the fly-leaf of an Autograph copy of the *Mathnawi* of Sultan Baha-ud-Din Walad, the son of Mawlana Jalaluddin Rumi. This valuable Ms., which once belonged to the Government Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, has mysteriously disappeared from there. H. Blochmann wrote a short, descriptive note on the Ms. which was published in the *Proceedings* of the Society (August, 1870, p. 251), while a fac-simile of the autograph of Dara Shikuh was reproduced in the *Journal* of the Society (Vol. XXXIX, Plate XIII). See Plate III a.

(v) *A Wasli*, dated 1046 A.H. (1646 A.D.), preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. (See Sachau & Ethé's, *Catalogue of Persian Mss. in the Bodleian Library*, Vol. I, No. 1897).

(vi) *A Wasli* exhibited at the sixth session of the *Nadwat-ul-'Ulama*, held at Benares, in 1906. (See *An-Nadwa*, Vol. iii, No. 4).

whether in the original or in photograph. They show that the Prince had attained a very high degree of perfection in calligraphy and that his hand-writing has a grace and beauty which is seldom surpassed by many of his contemporaries and successors. He appears to have imitated the writings of his master very closely, and considering the fact that he learned the art as a pastime only and not as a profession, his performance must be regarded as still more creditable.

The *Naskh* specimens also, of the existence of *three*⁴ of which I am aware, show that he was hardly inferior to any of the *Naskh*-calligraphers who flourished under Shah Jahan and Aurangzib. He took a special interest in making copies of the *Qur'an*, which he got finely illuminated and beautifully decorated by his artists. This was an act of piety in which his predecessors, Babur and Ibrahim Mirza, and his younger brother, Aurangzib, took a particular delight.

(vii) A *Wasli* exhibited at the second meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Lahore, 1920. (See *Proceedings*, Vol. II, p. xxiv, No. 124).

(viii) A *Wasli* in the Collection of Lala Sri Ram, M.A., of Delhi, which was exhibited at the fourth meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission, held at Delhi, 1922. (See *Proceedings*, Vol. iv, p. 107, No. 145).

(ix) A *Wasli* transcribed in 1041 A.H. for Sayyid Musawi Khan, the *Sadr-us-Sudur*, or the Chief of Justice, of Shahjahan. The *Wasli* which belongs to the private collection of Khan Sahib Mawlawi Zafar Hasan, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, has been reproduced in his *Specimens of Muslim Calligraphy in the Delhi Museum of Archaeology* (No. 41). See Plate III b.

(x) A note on the valuable Album which the Prince presented to his "nearest and dearest" wife, Nadira Begum, in 1051 *Hijra*.

They are:—(i) A copy of *Safinat-ul-Awliya*, transcribed in learned *Naskh* in 1050 *Hijra* and now preserved in the Oriental Public Library, Patna. The fly-leaf contains the following note in Persian:—

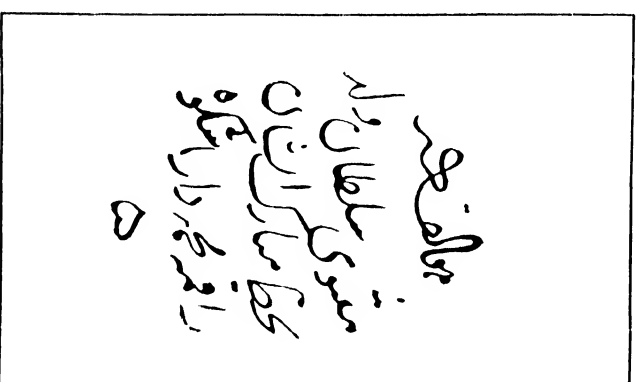
"This book is *Safinat-ul-Awliya*; transcribed by Muhammad Dara Shikuh, Hanafi, Qadiri, 1050 (*Hijra*)," which clearly shows that the Ms. was copied by the Prince himself, but Khan Bahadur 'Abdul Muqtadir, the learned cataloguer of the Library, is of opinion that the Prince only collated the Ms. (See *Catalogue of Persian Mss. in the Oriental Public Library, Patna* (Vol. viii, p. 48), where the Khan Bahadur has stated his reasons.

(ii) A copy of the *Qur'an* preserved in the 'Aziz Bagh Library, Hyderabad, Deccan. It is written on deer-skin and appears from the colophon to have been transcribed at Shahjahanabad (Delhi) in 1050 *Hijra*. My esteemed friend the late Shams-ul-'Ulama Hafiz Nazir Ahmad, who examined the Ms. at Hyderabad, published the following description of the Ms. in the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (New Series, 1917, p. xc):—"The verses of the *Qur'an* are written throughout in gold. The headings are illuminated with fine floral designs and the copy is beautifully illuminated throughout. The Ms. is preserved in a splendid binding."

(iii) A copy of the *Qur'an* written throughout in gold. The Ms., which formerly belonged to the Buhar Library, Calcutta, is now in charge of the Trustees of the Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta. (See *Catalogue Raisonné of the Buhar Library*, Vol. I, p. viii.)



A Wasli transcribed by Prince Dara Shukuh
in 1041 Hira.



Autograph note of Prince Dara
Shukuh on a Ms. of
Sultan Baha'uddin W alaf's Mathnawi

It is a matter of common knowledge to students of Oriental art that calligraphy and painting go hand in hand in Islamic, and more particularly in Iranian and Indo-Iranian Art. And one who is a good judge of calligraphy, nay a good calligraphist himself, can hardly be a bad judge of the art of the miniaturist, unless of course he is incapable of appreciating it by reason of his peculiar temperament or on account of his particular religious scruples. But, as we know, no such difficulties stood in the way of Dara. Accomplished calligrapher as he was, he appears to have been a good judge and an ardent admirer of the pictorial art of the day. And the best testimony to his refined artistic taste is his Album of Paintings and Specimens of Calligraphy which, thanks to the efforts of Dr. Thomas, is now preserved in the India Office Library, London. A pathetic interest attaches to this Album, as it at once calls to mind the sad and sorrowful story of the woes and worries of Dara which followed the ignominious defeat of Samugarh. Not long after the memorable battle Dara, while deserted by almost all his trusted servants and supporters and followed by the advancing columns of Aurangzib, found solace and comfort in that hour of trial and suspense in the company of "one" person, namely, "his nearest and dearest" wife, the lady Nadira Begum. To this lady, his life-long companion in weal and woe, he presented the Album as a gift from a loving husband to a devoted wife. But little Dara knew, while writing these lines:—

"This album was presented to his nearest and dearest friend, the Lady Nadira Begum by Prince Muhammad Dara Shikuh son of the Emperor Shahjahan, in the year 1051 (1641-2 A.D.)."⁵

that thirteen years hence his "nearest and dearest" wife would die in utter misery and helplessness in a distant and inhospitable land, and that overtaken with grief and resigned to the will of God, he would give himself up to his enemies and, eventually, suffer a cruel death at the hands of his own brother!

This Album, with a halo of romance and tragedy around it, presents a brilliant panorama of the achievements of the Mughals and the Persians in the field of pictorial art. "What the Koh-i-Noor is to other Eastern diamonds", observes an elegant author, "surely this richly bound volume in wrought leather, containing miniatures by Persian, Central Asian and Mughal artists, and specimens of calligraphy of the highest quality of the painters and penman's art, must be to any other volume of a similar character." He adds that "although the

⁵ Smith (V.A.) *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* (Oxford, 1911), pp. 457, 458.

purely artistic merit of this priceless volume, great as that is, forms but a part of its claim to supreme value, this aspect of it cannot be dismissed without due consideration. This album is similar to such an one as Vasari, the great biographer of the Renaissance in Italy, prepared of the drawings of the artists of that period. In it are collected isolated pictures and specimens of the penman's and illuminator's art of the best Asiatic schools. The pictures included in the Album are not intended to illustrate the exquisitely written verses from Persian and other poets, with which they are interleaved. All are of the highest quality, of the schools represented, and afford a striking testimony to the knowledge and taste of the Prince who selected them."⁶

This Album, like the two beautiful albums of Jahangir⁷ or the undiscovered album of Princess Zib-un-Nisa,—whose existence was pointed out by me a few years back⁸—contains miniatures of kings and nobles, portraits of princes and princesses, drawings of birds and flowers, and panels of calligraphy and copies of European paintings, etc.⁹ Can there be anything more interesting and valuable than the

⁶ Cecil L. Burns in the *Times of India Annual*, 1925.

⁷ Of the two Albums, one is in the Berlin State Library and the other in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington. A large number of paintings and panels of Calligraphy in the former Album have been reproduced by Kuhnelt (Ernst) and Goetz (Hermann) in their *Indische Buchmalereien aus dem Jahangir Album der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*, 1924, and also in their English edition of the same work which they brought out two years later. Of the second Album, thirty paintings and four panels of calligraphy have been reproduced by C. Stanley Clarke in the "Victoria and Albert Museum Portfolios" Series, under the title of *Indian Drawings of the School of Jahangir in the Wantage Bequest*, London, 1922.

⁸ In the *Shama'* of Agra (December, 1926). While examining certain manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library, Patna, I came across the Persian Preface of the *Muraqqa'*, or Album, of Princess Zib-un-Nisa, written by one Muhammad Riza, *Rashid*. The writer of the Preface says that the Princess displayed a fine artistic taste in preparing her Album, which was a veritable "Spring-garden," containing pictures of orchards and gardens, flowers and trees, birds and animals, etc. It also contained interesting portraits of nobles and princes, and a representative selection of the specimens of the calligraphy of the best penmen of the day. There can be little doubt that had the Album been discovered, it would have rivalled the beautiful Albums of Jahangir and Dara Shikuh, and would have remained as a monument to the artistic taste of a talented Mughal Princess. However, let us hope that it will be discovered some day.

⁹ The Album comprises 78 folios, besides decorated fly-leaves. It includes 30 signed panels of calligraphy by the best pen-men of India and Persia. According to Smith, the oldest specimen of calligraphy is dated 904=1498 A.D., at Herat. Of the signed paintings, which are three in number (fols. 25, 27, 21b), the oldest is dated 1014=A.D. 1605. (For further particulars see V. A. Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, pp. 463, 475, 490; and Percy Brown's *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, pp. 94, 95).

contemporary portraits of kings, princes and nobles, or the miniatures of the beautiful princesses who adorned the royal harem, or the delightful, decorative motives that surround the charming paintings? Further, could there be a finer and a more realistic rendering of animal life than what we find in this collection,—a characteristic rendering being of two ducks reproduced here on Plate II? But, a monochrome reproduction can hardly convey any adequate idea of the cleverness of the painter's brush or the skill of the decorator's art. The three European paintings in the album, two of which (fol. 42^b, 43) are wood engravings apparently taken from the Italian edition of "The Lives of the Saints,"¹⁰ and the third (fol. 74) seems to belong to the period of Elizabeth, show in a striking manner the catholicity and broadmindedness of the prince and, indeed, of a large majority of the Mughals of the day. The treatment of Christian subjects or the copying of European, and more particularly Italian, paintings was a favourite pastime of the Mughal artists. These renderings and copies were readily purchased by their masters, who placed them in their albums, if for nothing else, at least for the sake of variety.

The Album, inspite of its including several specimens of a mediocre type is, as I have remarked before, of supreme importance to the students of Perso-Indian Art, and will ever remain a striking testimony to the refined taste and the critical judgment of a most cultured Mughal Prince.

M. MAHFUZ-UL HAQ.

¹⁰ According to Smith (p. 463), one wood-engraving (dated 1585 A.D.) is of St. Caterina di Siena, while the other is of S. Margarita.

PETER THE GREAT IN PARIS.¹

In the year 1717 the Czar Peter the Great visited Paris. As the creator of the Russian Empire he was received with due pomp and magnificence and was honoured with the most careful attentions. But the Czar did not allow himself to be seduced by his brilliant reception. As one can well imagine, Peter the Great could not be expected to be bound by rules of etiquette.

When the young king of France was presented to him, Peter the Great lifted him up from the ground in order to kiss him on both cheeks, to the great stupefaction of the courtiers.

While witnessing a performance from his box at the Opera he surprised his attendants by asking for a glass of beer. This was offered to him along with a serviette by the Regent of France.

At the Invalids (where the old, decrepit soldiers are housed) he insisted on tasting the soldiers' soup, drank to their health, patted them on the shoulders and addressed them as "my comrades."

While visiting the Sorbonne University building he noticed Richelieu's statue by the sculptor Girardau, and embracing it in his arms addressed it as follows: "Great man, I would have given you one-half of my empire in order to learn from you how to govern the other half."

All that he admired in France was what belonged to the past. He predicted the decadence and the approaching ruin of the French nation. This erroneous view was perhaps due to the fact that he had seen only the surface of the national life and had judged the latter according to what he saw of the court life. In this he was not mistaken, because royalty and the nobility had already commenced to perish fast, as a prelude to their complete overthrow in the great French Revolution of 1789.

M. AHMED.

¹ Adapted from the French.

THE HISTORY OF THE INDIAN PRESS.

CHAPTER V.

Growth of Calcutta Press from 1780 to 1799.

Hicky's *Bengal Gazette* was barely ten months old when a rival paper called the *India Gazette* was started and was given by Warren Hastings the privilege of circulating through the Post Office free of postage, as the following correspondence shows. The older paper did not enjoy this concession, and Hicky severely animadverted on this grievance.¹

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQR., GOVERNOR-GENERAL,
AND THE COUNCIL AT FORT WILLIAM.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

Understanding that our plan of an intended Publication of a News Paper, has met with the favour of your approbation, we are encouraged to take the liberty of requesting the additional one of your further Patronage, by granting us permission to send it to our different subscribers, out of Calcutta by the *Dawk*, free of Postage; on our paying annually to the Post Master-General such a certain sum; as you shall think proper to direct: we likewise engaging that no other article or writing whatsoever shall go under the said Cover with the Newspaper, or Newspapers; and that each Cover shall be endorsed *India Gazette*; as well as seal'd with our joint names in Persian; or indeed complying with any regulations you may please to Order.

We also humbly beg leave to take this Opportunity of soliciting the favor of our being appointed Printers to the Hon'ble Company at Calcutta; which should you think proper to confer, it shall be our

¹ Dr. Busteed, for want of these documents, speaks of the concession granted to the *India Gazette* "as alleged by Hicky" (p. 190 of his *Echoes from Old Calcutta*, 4th ed.), but this was a real concession, and Hicky was justified in making it a grievance, though his severe animadversions on the manner in which the concession was procured from Warren Hastings might be deemed quite contumacious.

study and endeavour to do our duty, by executing with correctness and dispatch, all Orders sent to our care.

We have the honour to be with the greatest respect,

Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,

Your most obedient and humble servants,

(Sd.) B. MESSINK,

(Sd.) PETER REED.

CALCUTTA,

4th October, 1780.

In reply to this application the Bengal Board authorised the circulation of the *India Gazette* through the Post Office free of postage for six months. And this privilege seems to have been continued to the paper for more than a year, as the following documents show.

TO THE HON'BLE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL, ETC., SUPREME COUNCIL.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,

The Hon'ble Board having been pleased amongst other Regulations passed in April last to order that all Letters and Packets whatever received and forwarded thro' the Post Office should pay Postage agreeable to the established rates observed with common Letters with an exception only of the *India Gazette* published by Mr. Messink, which indulgence to him was owing to his having previously to the above period procured the privilege of sending those Papers free of Postage for six months, at the expiration of which time the Hon'ble Board were to determine on the rate of Postage to be paid for them, which determination not having yet been received, I beg leave to request they will be pleased to inform me whether the abovenamed Papers are to pay Postage in the same manner as other Packets and Letters forwarded by the Post Office.

I have the honour to be with the greatest respect,

Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

H. C. PLOWDEN,

Post Master-General.

GENERAL POST OFFICE,

Calcutta, 24th November, 1781.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQR., GOVERNOR-GENERAL,
ETC., AND MEMBERS OF COUNCIL.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

The time for which you were pleased to grant me free postage for the *India Gazette* being expired, permit me to return my grateful thanks for a privilege that has been of such advantage to me, and to request that you will still allow it to pass at the different Post Offices, on my agreeing to pay such Annual Sum, as you shall think fit to stipulate.

My inability to pay full postage (which would amount to nearly the whole profits of the paper) is the cause of my addressing you upon this subject, the bare mention of this circumstance, and the line of conduct I have observed in the *India Gazette*, from which I never mean to depart, will, I flatter myself, induce you to grant me some indulgence.

It might be considered improper in me to say how much I could afford to pay for postage, I shall therefore be silent on that subject, but, as I imagine the privilege heretofore granted me has incurred no extraordinary expence to the Post Office, and, as I have lately reduced the paper to one half of its former weight, I hope the Hon'ble Board considering that a Gazette on the plan I have adopted may be of utility, will be pleased to fix the Annual Sum to be paid by me so as not to compel me to burthen my subscribers (out of Calcutta) with an additional tax, as I have reason to fear it would be the cause of my losing many of them.

I am with due respect,

Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,

Your most obedient humble servant,

B. MESSINK.

CALCUTTA,
11th of March, 1782.

The *India Gazette* was a well-printed paper of four pages, each about sixteen inches long and divided into three columns, and was started in November, 1780, by Mr. Peter Reed (a salt agent) and Mr. Bernard Messink.² It was a weekly paper set up with the object

² For the purpose of ridicule and abuse they are always referred to by Hicky as "Peter Nimmuck" (or Obadiah Broadbrim) and "Barnaby Grizzle," and their paper, the *India Gazette*, is by him nicknamed the *Monitorial Gazette*, in allusion to a weekly

of counteracting the evils Hicky was sowing in society. The type for its production was got by purchase from the venerable missionary Kiernander. Within two years, i.e. in 1782, Mr. Peter Reed withdrew from the joint undertaking of the *India Gazette*, and his place was filled

contribution in it, alleged by Hicky to be from Reed, addressed, as all letters were, to "Mr. Monitor," which went on for some months. This contribution ceased, owing, it was asserted in Hicky, to Grizzle having been detected cheating Nimmuck, which led to the withdrawal of the latter from the joint undertaking. Its disappearance was hoped to prelude the collapse of the new paper, and was notified by a grimy pæan in the *Bengal Gazette*, where more than the usual raillery, vituperation, and indecency did duty for triumphant humour.

The Rev. James Long, in his *Peeps into Social Life in Calcutta a Century Ago*, described the *Monitorial Gazette* as a separate paper from the *India Gazette*. This is an error. Dr. Busted, in his *Echoes from Old Calcutta*, has not contradicted the Rev. James Long.

Mr. Thomas, the first Baptist missionary in Bengal, finding no religious people in Calcutta in 1783, advertised for a Christian thus on 1st November, 1783, in the *India Gazette* :

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY : "A plan is now forming for the more effectually spreading the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and his glorious Gospel in and about Bengal: any serious persons of any denomination, rich or poor, high or low, who would heartily approve of, join in or gladly forward such an undertaking are hereby invited to give a small testimony of their inclination, that they may enjoy the satisfaction of forming a communion, the most useful, the most comfortable and the most exalted, in the world. Direct for A.B.C. to be left with the Editor."

Bernard Messink was sent out by David Garrick with sceneries prepared under his supervision in England for the new Calcutta Play-house (the second Calcutta Theatre) built about 1775 which stood on the site now occupied by Messrs. Finlay, Muir and Company, on the north-west corner of Lyons' Range, Calcutta. He was most probably one of the proprietors of this Calcutta theatrical speculation.

The celebrated trial of Maharaja Nanda Kumar Roy for forgery commenced at the Criminal Sessions of the Calcutta Supreme Court on June 8, 1775. Bernard Messink was summoned as one of the Jurors, but he was challenged by the prisoner and directed to stand aside. On the 19th April, 1778, he was nominated by the Worshipful Master of Lodge No. 1 of Calcutta, Junior Warden, *vice* Brother William Coates deceased. During 1781-1784 the Provincial Grand Lodge of Bengal Freemasons was in abeyance; on the 18th July, 1785, it was re-opened, and in the proceedings of the revival meeting I find:—

"Bro. R. Tomlinson, S.W., and Bro. T. Macan, J.W. of Lodge No. 1, were introduced and asked "if they had held Lodges regularly for some time past, and since the departure of their late Master, Bro. Bernard S. Messink. They acknowledged that there had been a long interruption to their meetings, but remarked that it was in some measure owing to there having been no Prov. G. Lodge since Bro. Messink's departure, to which they could have applied for instruction and assistance. "Their excuse was admitted, and they were recommended to be more assiduous and industrious in the future." W. K. Firminger's *Freemasonry in Bengal and the Panjab*, Calcutta 1906, p. 41.

up by Mr. Charles Johnston.³ After the *India Gazette*, the *Calcutta Gazette* was founded under the avowed patronage of Government, and as such, exempted from postage.

The famous *Calcutta Gazette* owed its origin to the initiative of Francis Gladwin in his following correspondence with the Government. The first number was issued on the 4th March, 1784. Though Gladwin was then a Senior Covenanted Civilian the official department of the paper was kept quite distinct from the editorial, and the Government was in no way connected or identified with the management or politics of the paper, but only used it as a medium for making known general orders, requisitions and official notices of all sorts. The paper was never regarded by the Government as their official organ, and though conducted by one of their Civil Servants, they took particular care to check any excesses on his part in his editorial capacity.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQR., GOVERNOR-GENERAL,
ETC., AND MEMBERS OF COUNCIL.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

I humbly presume that to establish an Authorised Gazette, under the immediate Superintendence of a Covenanted Servant, who should be made responsible for its Contents, would be a measure of public Utility, and as such not Unworthy of the attention of Government; besides being the Channel for Conveying the Proclamations and Orders of Government and Ordinary Articles of Intelligence, it might be made particularly Useful to the Junior part of the Company's Servants by the insertion of Extracts from the most approved Persian Authors, in the original Character with English Translations, and thus facilitate their Improvement in that Language, the study of which has been so frequently recommended to them by the Court of Directors.

If this plan is honored with your Approbation, I entreat, Gentlemen, you will condescend to grant me the Sanction of your Authority for Printing such a Gazette and that you will direct the heads of the respective Departments of Government to make my Paper the exclusive Channel for the Publication of the Company's Orders. I ask no

³ Author of the novel *Chrysal; or, the Adventures of a Guinea*. In 1782 he set out for India and after being shipwrecked on the way, arrived in Calcutta where he acquired a fortune by private trade. He was a regular writer to the Press under the nom-de-plume "Onciopolos." He died in Calcutta in 1800. For more facts of his career at Calcutta, see Sterndale's *History of the Calcutta Collectorate*, p. 23.

particular Indulgence but I flatter myself you will allow my Gazette to go by the public *Dawk* at half postage being the rate established at the Post Office for other News Papers.

I am, etc.,

(Sd.) FRAS. GLADWIN.

FORT WILLIAM,
The 2nd February, 1784.

Public Con., 9th February, 1784, No. 20.

Agreed that Mr. Gladwin be authorised to publish a Gazette under the sanction of this Board and that the Heads of offices be directed to issue all such advertisements or Publications as may be ordered on the Part of the Company, thro' the Channel of his paper.

Letter from Mr. Gladwin, 2nd February. Agreed to in the terms of his application.

W. WEBBER,

Secretary.

REVE. DEPT.,
6th February, 1784.

In the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 11th March, 1784, the following appears:—

Official, Thursday, 11th March, 1784. The Honorable the Governor-General and Council having permitted Mr. Francis Gladwin to publish a Gazette under their sanction and authority, the Heads of offices are hereby required to issue all such Advertisements or Publications as may be ordered on the part of the Honorable Company, through the channel of this paper.⁴

W. BRUARE,

Secretary.

FORT WILLIAM,
9th February, 1784.

Then followed the *Bengal Journal*, February 1785; the *Oriental Magazine* or *Calcutta Amusement*, 6th April, 1785, a monthly paper, in the first number of which is given an elegant engraving of the

⁴ Soon after Mr. Francis Gladwin was also given the whole of the printing business of Government, to be printed at the *Calcutta Gazette* press.

Governor-General, Warren Hastings, with some account of his life and transactions; and the *Calcutta Chronicle*, which was started as a weekly paper in January, 1786, by William Baillie, whose views of old Calcutta are so valuable, and who originally belonged to the Bengal Engineers, from which he retired with the rank of Major. Aaron Upjohn, the Calcutta topographer, was his printer and was also a part-proprietor.

Next in age came the *Calcutta Magazine*. The following advertisement was published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 15th September, 1791:—

The 15th September, 1791.

Calcutta Magazine.

On Monday, the 3rd of October next, will be published No. 1 of a new periodical work, to be continued monthly under the title of the,

Calcutta Magazine.

The outlines of the plan on which this work is instituted are as follows:—

Each number shall be printed in the same character, and altogether on the same plan, as the most approved Magazines now published in Europe.

Each number shall be delivered to subscribers on or before the third day of every month.

To subscribers the price of this Magazine will be exactly thirty Rupees per annum. To non-subscribers each number will be charged three Rupees.

All the necessary materials for the due execution of this work are of the first quality and of recent importation; and the arrangements for its steady and satisfactory management have been carefully adjusted.

This Magazine is offered to the public without the recommendation of any avowed patronage, and without the intrusion of either public or private solicitation for its support; not that the Editors are unambitious of securing to the *Calcutta Magazine* the patronage and support of the public—they ardently aspire to the attainment of both—but they would disclaim all solicitude for the possession of either, if derived from any other influence than the merit of the publication itself; and on this principle their exertions shall be uniformly directed

to its improvement; nor are they apprehensive that public favor will be withheld while the claim to it shall be supported with diligence and industry.

Literary communications, or gentlemen desirous to become subscribers, are for the present entreated to address their commands to No. 51, Cossitollah.

And the *Calcutta Magazine* was followed by the *Indian World*, another weekly, started in 1794 by William Duane. Then came in succession the two well-known weeklies, the *Asiatic Mirror* and the *Oriental Star*, both of which were first published in 1794. On the 1st November, 1794, was published the first number of the *Calcutta Monthly Journal*, by J. White, printer, No. 2, Weston Lane, Cossitollah. This journal, it would appear, was established for the purpose of giving the whole of the Indian news of the month in as condensed a form as possible for transmission to England; the pioneer in fact of the "overland summaries" which became so common on the establishment of the overland route.

The celebrated *Bengal Hurkaru* first came out as a weekly paper from the *Oriental Star* office on the 20th January, 1795. The first name of this journal was *Hircarrah*.

On the 4th of October, 1795, was published the first number of a weekly newspaper, under the title of the *Indian Apollo*. The paper was to appear every Sunday, from the *Asiatic Mirror* Press, No. 158, Chitpore Road. Then came the other weekly newspapers, *The Telegraph*, *The Morning Post* and the *Calcutta Courier*.

The second number of the *Asiatic Magazine* published at the *Bengal Hircarrah* office, No. 7, Post Office street, appeared on the 21st June, 1798. As a specimen of what the literature of Indian magazines was at that day, we append the contents of this number:— (1) Travels of a Native on Terra Incognita; (2) The Dabash, or Peregrinations and Exploits of Suamoy, a native of Hindostan; (3) Memoir of Antony Joseph Grosas, etc.; (4) The Teares of the Press; (5) Anecdote of an Elephant; (6) On the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindus; (7) Speech of Peter Moore, Esquire, at a Court of Proprietors, etc.; (8) The Maid of the Moor; (9) Political Review, general intelligence, civil appointments, and domestic occurrences. The price of this magazine was to subscribers sicca rupees four a number, and to non-subscribers six!

The Relator, a bi-weekly newspaper, was advertised to appear at Calcutta on the 4th April, 1799, and the following is the flourish with

which the announcement of its appearance was heralded before the public:—

TO THE PUBLIC.—It is an eventful period indeed, at which we solicit your patronage of a work, for the early and faithful communication of those events, which not only interest the feelings and occupy the attention of mankind, but astonish and terrify the world. When in the height of an universal war, Nature seems to have allotted her *sea* for the theatre of the gallant and unexampled victories of Britain; and Fate resigned the *land* to the sanguinary and immensurable ravages of France; when Anarchy has supplanted Order; and Reason fled the frenzy of Infidelity and Caprice; when the hue of *living manners* is changeable as the Chameleon's—and the new principles of *human actions* short lived as the Ephemeron; not only the materials for periodical publication abound, but the vehicles for disseminating them are naturally multiplied. This has been the case in Calcutta; yet we presume to offer another Newspaper to your attention, trusting it will possess equal merit with any contemporary print. As the professions of a stranger respecting himself and undertakings are both nugatory and fulsome, we decline making any; and should an indulgent Public sanction our attempt, we shall receive their approbation, with purer satisfaction, than if we had endeavoured to obtain it by arts which only partially delude the simple and infallibly disgust the sensible.

"The terms and manner of publishing are specified below. Should we succeed, the plan may be enlarged; if not, we shall retire without shame from a pursuit commenced without arrogance. We have chosen the title of THE RELATOR, and the following are its terms, etc., Signed., John Howel, Junr., Editor."

S. C. SANIAL.

According to Frederic Harrison the reading of great works is a faculty to be acquired, not a natural gift.

A NOTE OF SOME MANUSCRIPTS IN THE COLLECTION OF KHWAJA HASAN NIZAMI OF DELHI.

There are about two hundred Manuscripts in the private library of Khwaja Hasan Nizami Sahib, of Delhi; they are mostly in Persian, and almost all of them deal with Islamic subjects, *e.g.*, Exegetics, Scholastics, Dogmatics, Ethics, Mysticism, etc. Persian literature is represented, and there are some MSS. on Hindu religion too. I give below a descriptive account of some of the more important Persian and Arabic MSS.

1. *Gulistan-i-Sa'di* ($13" \times 7\frac{1}{2}"$). This is the oldest of the dated MSS. in the library,—unfortunately there are not less than Sixty or Seventy MSS. undated—having been copied in 701 A.H., just 10 years after the death of its venerable and world-renowned author. The MS. was copied in Shiraz itself, which was the home of Sa'di. These two facts are borne out by the last line, which runs thus:—

در سنه هفتصد و یک هجری در بلد شیراز ترقیم یافت *

Sa'di wrote his *Gulistan* in 656 A.H. so it is not improbable that this MS. may have been copied out from the original one written by the author himself. The margin contains the *Bustan*, and this makes the volume all the more important. The paper is ordinary, and the ink black; the hand-writing is also quite ordinary. The first is beautified by a painted heading. The pages are not numbered. The word *hikayat* is written in Persian characters in fine red. The marginal lines are coloured. The most important feature of the MS. is a series of ten pictures illustrating certain stories. From the modern point of view these pictures are not very artistic, but they are valuable as being specimens of the painting in vogue in Persia in the Seventh Century A.H. There are two hundred and twenty-two pages in all.

2. *Shahnama-i-Firdawsi* ($9" \times 5\frac{1}{2}"$). This valuable MS. was copied in 855 A.H., as is clearly proved by the subscription which runs thus:—

و قد فرغ نسیقه فی شهر جمادی الثاني سنه خمس و خمسين
و ثمانمائه الهجریه •

The paper is thick, and smooth and durable. The first page bears a seal of the size of a pice and the name of a certain Sayyid 'Ala-ud-Din 'Ali Shah; then comes an introduction in prose covering six pages, the heading being *Sabab-i-nazm-i Kitāb*. A short biographical notice of the poet is given along with his well-known parody on Sultan Mahmud.

Then comes the *Shahnamā* itself. The first two pages are beautifully decorated and worked in gold; the heading, in gold letters, reads:

• کتاب شاهنامه من کلام فردوسی علیه الرحمة والغفران

There are two couplets in each line and the binding and the dividing lines are all in gold throughout. There are more than five hundred pages in all and about fifty couplets in each page. Roughly speaking there are about 30,000 couplets in all. The pen used is very fine and pointed, and the writing is beautiful; the ink is jet black.

3. *Diwan-i-Hafiz* (8" x 5½"). This beautiful MS. was copied in 880 A.H. It contains about 175 pages. The first two pages are all worked in gold and ornamented so elaborately that they contain only four couplets. The paper is thick, smooth and durable. The handwriting is very beautiful; the ink is black, but is faded in many places. The marginal lines are eight in number, the outermost being red and the rest black; two are filled in with gold. The heading of each *Ghazal* is very tastefully decorated with golden leaves. A chief feature of the MS. is some beautiful pictures in Persian style. The last line runs thus:—

• تمام شد دیوان حافظ شیرازی ثمان و ثمانمایه سنه ۸۸۰ هجری

4. *Sharh-i Asbab-i-Nafisi*. This valuable MS. was copied in 894 A.H., as the subscription shows. "This MS. was completed on Wednesday the 19th of Shawwal, 894 A.H. by the weakest of the creatures of God the Creator, 'Ali ibn Nur-ud-Din of Astarabad. 'I expect a prayer for my soul from every reader as I am a sinner'."

There are in it two hundred and forty pages in all written in a very beautiful *Naskh* style. The text is marked with a red line and the commentary follows at once. Of course this was the usual custom in those days. This is still the Standard work for diagnosis and pathology with our Indian *Unani* physicians, and is taught in Tibbiya (medical) Colleges.

This MS. abounds in marginal notes, added perhaps by medical practitioners who used it. Somebody presented it to Qazi Habibullah

of Delhi in 1009 A.H., and he, as we know, was a royal physician. There are some prescriptions also written in various places.

5. *Subhat-ul-Abrar* and *Tuhfat-ul-Ahrar* ($9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$), both by Jami and contained in one volume. This MS. was copied in 982 A.H., its pages are about two hundred in number. The paper is thick and smooth. The subscription runs thus:—"It was written by the most despicable of beings Muhammadi son of Yar Muhammad Afrasiyab—May God forgive the sins and hide the defects of both of them—in the year 982 A.H."

It is a fine specimen of Calligraphy and the ink used in it appears as good and fresh as if the MS. had been copied only a few days back. The opening page is ornamented with gold and is very attractive. The marginal lines are all golden, and the headings of the stories are written in beautiful red ink.

6. *Tafsir-i-Zawari* ($13'' \times 7''$) two volumes, 1,150 pages. This MS. was copied in 1140 A.H., just two hundred and six years ago. The subscription runs thus:—"Finished the writing of this mighty book named *Tafsir-i-Zawari* for the sake of the victor, the lucky, the light of the eye of Sayyidhood, Mirza Abu Talib ibn Mir Nur-ud-Din Husain Tabataba Yazdi, by the weakest of the creatures of God Tayyib son of Nasir-ud-Din, in 1140 A.H."

The price paid for this MS. is mentioned on the fly-leaf as Rs. 500. The Arabic text is written in beautiful red ink and the Persian commentary in charming black. The marginal lines are in blue. The commentary is the work of some *Shi'a* theologian, as is expressly mentioned on the fly-leaf.

M. Y. K. SALIM.



MUTAFARRIQÂT.

The feminist movement has recently been stimulated by the selection of the design of Miss Elizabeth Scott for the new Shakespeare Memorial Theatre at Stratford-on-Avon. Seventy-two designs were submitted; in the final list there were six competitors, three English and three American; these were not selected on the principle which is sometimes declared by failed students to have determined their fate, according to which the examiner takes hold of his bundle of answer-books, casts it high in air, and the *Ayes* fall to his right and the *Noes* to his left. The final selection was carefully made, and we have it on the authority of a writer in the *Nation* and *Athenaeum* that it has not even been hinted "that Miss Scott's design was not the best submitted." All the greater credit to her! Those days are obviously past when a mere man might say of a woman's pencil that it looked as if she had sharpened it with her teeth.

Not a few will rejoice too that native talent has been esteemed sufficient for the task of constructing the new monument, and will hope that, though this her age is one when the abnormal has bound fast normality and the extravagant is idealised in all the arts, she will succeed in erecting a sane memorial to the sanest mind in all the nation.

The stage-arrangements should suit the tastes of all, from "plus-fourists" to spectacularists. We are told that "the stage is a large one, and as the old stage remains and may be partly incorporated with the new one when occasion requires merely by the removal of a sound-proof partition, the two together should provide a big area for the most elaborate spectacles in any Shakespearean production."

One of the most intimate sketches of the late Lord Oxford,—to whom this generation will first refer as Mr. Asquith, is that contained in the *Personal Note* on him by Mr. J. M. Keynes in the *Nation* and *Athenaeum* of Feb. 25th. We often make mention of the increasing competition which the children of the next generation will have to face, but it is seldom that one with whose name only success is coupled

expresses himself in such forceful terms regarding the challenge of the base or jealous instincts of human nature as in the following passage, which must shock any man not reared in the new conditions of life, that from earliest days are a hardening discipline against sentiment, sympathy and sensitiveness: "Lord Oxford possessed most of the needed gifts of a great statesman except ruthlessness towards others and insensitiveness for himself. One wonders whether in the conditions of the modern age a man so sensitive as he was will ever again be robust enough to expose himself to the outrages of public life. . . ."

One other passage from the *Note* we take the liberty of quoting: ". . . Lord Oxford had no intellectual fancies to lead him astray, no balloons of his own making to lift his feet off the ground. It was his business to hear and to judge; and the positions he occupied—Home Secretary, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Prime Minister—are positions best occupied, not by one ingenious to invent and to build, but by one whose business it is to hear and to judge. . . ." The authority is one from whom dissent is reluctant, but whether the Prime Minister of widest and longest appeal is not more than a judge is a matter for discussion. Mr. Asquith did not evoke such popular enthusiasm as did certain other Premiers of his age, and it may be contended that the measure in which he lacked in this respect was the measure of his lack of vision. The statistician and the file-driver have their place in secretariats but their leadership is cold among constituents conscious first of toil and endurance, and then an indefinable oppression.

The present agitation in the student-world of Calcutta is a reflex of the larger political, but even so it affords justifiable occasion for looking to the social activities which our University should foster among its students. That institution is still in the making, its possibilities are but in course of being realised. Finance rather than conservatism has curtailed vision. Its functions are shared in great measure with the constituent Colleges. These tend to lead their own life; there may be too little corporate life even in some of them, but there certainly might be more in the University.

The easiest and probably the most satisfactory method of fostering a communal life would be the provision of sporting facilities. Sports are health-giving, exercising the participants, and even the spectators by carrying them off from the dull way between dwelling-room and class-room to an arena a mile or more away there to see their fellows in freer and brighter relations and things in a truer setting.

A full-sized playing-field with stands or banks is a prime necessity. It would be in regular use by University teams, but Finals, Provincial and other important matches might be played on it and the surplus proceeds go towards defraying the purchase-price and subsidising the playing-grounds of the affiliated Colleges. If the latter could not turn out teams able to encounter the University First Eleven, their Old Boys might be encouraged to preserve active interest sufficient to make up a team.

For those who are interested in race-problems—and folks are in these days when old lands are changing to new and peoples are less content with an obscure lot, Prof. Jerome Dowd's recent book entitled *The Negro in American Life* (Pub. Jonathan Cape, London) will prove entertaining, saddening, instructive and thought-provoking. Fortunately, for himself at least, the negro carried with him into serfdom afar from his African home a sense of rhythm, which found expression in dance and song. His tangos have since conquered the dancing-world, and his sentimental, direct ditties or spirituals hold a strong, wide sway in another.

Sometimes their poets, mostly mulattoes, utter a poignant or a bitter note. Behind these lines by Mrs. G. D. Johnson there sounds a very fury of pain:

What need have I for memory,
When not a single flower
Has bloomed within life's desert
For me, one little hour?

What need have I for memory,
Whose burning eyes have met
The curse of unborn happiness
Winding the trail regret?

I am folding up my little dreams
Within my heart to-night,
And praying I may soon forget
The torture of their sight.

We quote the following arresting passage from the conclusion of the Professor's Chapter on Negro Poets:—

Lord Macaulay believed that poetry necessarily declined with the advance of civilization, for the reason that civilization has a tendency to obliterate from the mind of man that imagery which is the essence of all poetry. Among a somewhat backward people, whose interests are mostly objective, the mind of the individual is a sort of picture gallery, filled with the imagery of the outer world; whereas among a highly civilized people, whose interests are mostly subjective, the mind of the individual is merely so many pigeon-holes for storing up abstract and classified knowledge. A highly civilized people, therefore, will have many distinguished scientists, but no great poets.¹

If Macaulay's theory is correct it would lead us to anticipate, for some years to come, an increasing ascendancy of Negro poetry, and, since poetry is destined to be a scarce article in the future, we should give a cordial welcome to whatever muse, white or black, may be able to enliven and charm our declining imagination.

To Thomas Hardy none would deny grace of style and force of expression, and forcibleness as in his protest against the restoration of ancient monuments. Probably the majority of students of English literature were his strong admirers.

In recent notices two matters among others have had some attention, his lack of faith in any ultimate aim of our living and the inconsequence of incident in his stories.

It cannot be doubted that some readers failed to find him even interesting. Any who read him for a message must have wondered why he wrote. In *Jude*, *Tess* and *The Return of the Native* he could not leave well alone, and without unfolding a character more accumulated coincidences in melodramatic fashion, and resolved love into passion till Wessex turned to the region of the weak of both sexes.

The Greville Diary, by that "complete aristocrat" Charles Cavendish Fulke Greville, who died in 1865, shares with Pepys's distinction of pre-eminence "amid the journals which have instructed the mind and startled the senses of mankind." In and between the history, and gossip and scandal there occurs sound reasoning, as for instance: ". . . Play (cards) is a detestable occupation; it absorbs all our

¹ *Essay on Milton.*

thoughts and renders us unfit for everything else in life. It is hurtful to the mind and destroys the better feelings; it incapacitates us for study and application of every sort; it makes us thoughtful and nervous; and our cheerfulness depends upon the uncertain event of our nightly occupation. How anyone can play who is not in want of money I cannot comprehend; surely his mind must be strangely framed who requires the stimulus of gambling to heighten his pleasures. . . .; at the gaming table all men are equal; no superiority of birth, accomplishments, or ability avail here; great noblemen, merchants, orators, jockies, statesmen, and idlers are thrown together in levelling confusion; the only pre-eminence is that of success, the only superiority that of temper."

Racing had a much stronger hold on our Diarist, but palled too, for "success produces agreeable moments but not a happier frame of mind." Debts, it seems, are a concomitant of even sinecure posts such as he held. If only dues stood still, they would be quickly overtaken by turf-gains.

So much for the hortatory counsel necessary to this our age and to youth ever!

There are also stories more appropriate than others for Sunday reading. One leaves to the imagination the condition of any hostess who had on her list a certain pair named Charles and Robert, brothers apparently, who were "always together, and both very forgetful and unpunctual. Somebody said that if you asked Charles to dine with you at six on Monday, you were very likely to have Robert at seven on Tuesday."

Then again the tale of the substitute-chairman at a certain Theatrical Fund dinner, to whom was committed the toast of "The memory of the Duke of York," the founder of the institution. Twice however in the effort of proposing it he gave "The health" etc., instead!

A perusal of the book *Great Detectives and their Methods* by George Dilnot, though it may to some extent disillusionise the reader of Sherlock Holmes's adventures, will yet ensure him some exciting hours, and supply to any who may desire it a list of *Donts* if they would evade the vigilance of the sleuth-hounds of the law. We are told that it is only the hundredth case of crime to which the general principles of detection do not apply. The author asserts that detectives are human and fallible, yet leaves us with the impression that they are inhumanly infallible. Their methods vary in different countries; as might be

expected France yields to none in ingenuity,—even in obtaining confessions. The story of Vidocq, renowned for crime and for its detection, is a complete exposition of the case for “setting a thief to catch a thief,”—and the case against it, for even in his life-time the system of utilising gaol-bird detectives was abolished (in 1832).

The visit last year of Prof. Manley O. Hudson, Bemis Professor of International Law in Harvard University, to Calcutta University and his course of lectures there are still fresh in our memories. His official connection with the League of Nations added much interest for those who listened to him here. His wide travel-experiences during that “fallow” year marked him out as peculiarly fitted to deliver recently the address of welcome to foreign students in his University. In the course of his speech he stated: “. . . But I have often asked myself what are the things that one should look for in his study of a foreign country, and I should like to tell you of three things which seem to me to afford some indices, if they do not offer any standard of judgment.

One of the first things that seem to me to matter about any country or civilization is the education of small children, and if you would get an understanding of America it is one of the things I would invite you to study in this country. Go into some of the schools for children under ten years of age, and get an impression of their work and ideals. We have long had in this country a system of free public school education In most of our States, children between certain ages are required to be in school and in some parts of the country compulsory education is regarded as the key to the gate to the promised land. Moreover, the education of small children is now undergoing revolutionary changes in some parts of the country, and the effort to change them would well deserve some of your study. I doubt whether anything that is happening to-day will have more influence in shaping the America which you will know in the years to come.

A second thing which matters about any society seems to me to be the range of opportunity and choice which confronts young men and women as they approach maturity. At eighteen or twenty in this country, perhaps at somewhat earlier ages elsewhere, most young men and women have to commit themselves to some prevision as to where and how they will spend their lives. The degree of freedom to choose is dependent on so many social and economic factors that a study of it will almost run the gamut of human activities. Perhaps it can be studied more easily as to women than as to men, for if marriage is

not more important in their lives it holds a larger part of their opportunities. But the criteria in vogue for mating in any country are not easily understood, and a study of them easily carries one into most of the questions of sociology and economics. I hope you will get some impressions of the place of women in American society, and I wish you would tell us whether Europeans are right in saying that America is run by its women. Many of the professions are now open to both women and men, and if you would understand the reasons for their choice you would have mirrored to you a large part of American life. Another question for you to consider is how far do our young men and women stick to the locality in which they were born when they set up for themselves. Half a century ago, you would have found great numbers of them going West; to-day, they seem to go East, West, North, and South. Why they go and how they go may lead you into many a corner of the American scene. What have we lost and what have we gained by this mobility of our population? Is it because America is a continent? Or has some kind of quicksilver got into our American blood?

A third thing which I would ask myself if I were visiting your country would be, how do the people above fifty spend their leisure time? You may first want to inquire whether Americans above fifty have any leisure time, and for that I would ask you not to judge the whole of America by the American members of this University. If you would find that leisure is a product or a by-product of American life, why is it so? Is it a desideratum of effort as people go along? What is the economy that makes it possible when it is attained? And what can you say of the way it is spent? Is the world, or America even, any richer for what it produces—any richer in science, in art, or in literature? Does it mean any spiritual enrichment of the lives of those who have it? Americans often admit, and people in other countries seem inclined to think, that America is the richest country in the world. Some of you have probably been surprised already to find that all the Americans you have met were not millionaires. I believe your study of the leisure of men and women above fifty will tell you how rich America really is and in what her riches consist . . .
...—*Harvard Alumni Bulletin*.

TOPICS FROM PERIODICALS.

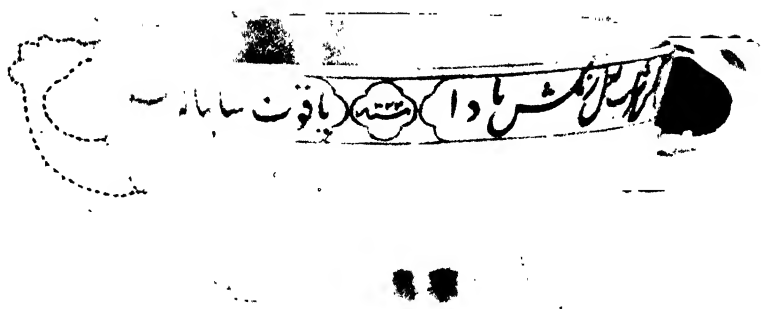
JAHANGIR'S WINE-CUP.

In a paper entitled, "Recent Accessions to the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum," published in *Indian Art And Letters* (Vol. I, No. 2), Mr. C. Stanley Clarke has given an interesting account of some of the outstanding objects of art acquired during the last five years. He writes, "It is satisfactory to record that during the last five years nearly two thousand objects (accessions by gift, bequest and purchase) have been made to the collections." Among the above pieces, is Jahangir's wine-cup, made of green jade. A similar cup, supposed to have belonged to Jahangir, was brought for sale to Calcutta a few years back, but, so far as is known, no purchaser could be found for it. Has that same cup now found its way into the Victoria and Albert Museum? According to Mr. Clarke, the wine-cup is a "Shallow vessel of dark green jade, highly polished and semi-translucent, with an incised rim-band composed of six cartouches containing an inscription and repetitions of the date inlaid with white chunam. The inscription takes the form of a quatrain, inscribed in the *nastaliq*, or round Persian character.

Translation.

'Shah Jahangir has set the world in order;
By the brilliancy of his justice the times have been filled
with light.
May it gain its colour from the reflection of the red wine.
We will ever drain the cup that is like a ruby.'

The two small quatrefoil compartments respectively contain the date "1022 A.H." expressed in ciphers, and the regnal year "8", signifying the eighth year of the reign of Jahangir (1605-1627): William Hawkins records in his enumeration of Jahangir's treasures. "Of vases for wine very faire and rich, set with jewels, there are one hundred. Of drinking cuppes, five hundred, that is to say made of one piece of Ballace ruby and also emerods, of *eshim* (which stone cometh



(Copyright, V and A Museum)

Jahangir's Wine Cup



Abul Fazl presenting the Akbar Nama to the Emperor Akbar

from Cathay), of Turkish stone and other sorts of stones (Purchas, Vol. I, p. 217). *Eshim*, or *yashm*, was the Mogul term for green jade, a precious stone now known to mineralogists as nephrite."

A PORTRAIT OF ABU'L FAZL.

"No authentic portrait of Abu'l Fazl, the accomplished minister and panegyrist of the emperor Akbar," writes Sir T. W. Arnold in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London*, (Vol. IV, Part IV), "has yet been published; yet he was one of the most prominent figures at the court of one of the greatest sovereigns known to history, and the long portrait gallery of the dignitaries of the Mughal Empire in the period of its zenith is incomplete without him. Mr. Vincent A. Smith, in his life of Akbar (Oxford, 1917), included a picture of Abu'l Fazl from the Delhi Museum (p. 306), but the Catalogue of the Loan Exhibition of Antiquities, Coronation Durbar, 1911 (Archæological Survey of India), p. 100, assigns it to the early part of the nineteenth century, and declares that it is almost certainly not a portrait of Abu'l Fazl—a judgment with which any one acquainted with Mughal portraiture can have no hesitation in concurring."

"Through the courtesy of Mr. A. Chester Beatty," adds Sir Thomas "we are permitted to publish here a portrait of this distinguished statesman and man of letters,¹ taken from a Ms. of the Akbar Namah (fol. 177), which, though undated, must have been completed some time between 1602 and 1605. The picture shows Abu'l Fazl presenting the second volume of his work to the Emperor, an event which probably occurred some time in March, 1602 (see Mr. H. Beveridge's translation, ii, pp. 576-7). The name of the painter is given as Govardhan; we have thus in this picture a contemporary representation by one of the best-known of Akbar's court painters. No description of Abu'l Fazl's personal appearance is available whereby the accuracy of the portrait can be tested, but the fleshy cheeks and neck are such as might be expected from the account given in the *Ma'athir al-Umara*, where it is stated that his daily ration weighed twenty-two *sirs*, or more than thirty pounds of food, and his housekeeping was on a very lavish scale. It is also noticeable that he imitates his royal master (as he might have been expected to do) in wearing a small moustache, after the Hindu fashion, and short whiskers."

¹ We reproduce a portion of the picture with acknowledgments to the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*.—EDITORS.

THE RUBAIYAT OF OMAR KHAYYAM.

The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam, (writes H. Kendall in *Great Thoughts*), represents to us the typically Oriental view of life, its fate and its fatalism, its determination to accept the Will of the Eternal as the last word in every condition of existence, and its keen sense of honour as prevailing between men.

It may be that the Rubaiyat leaves one saddest when it seems most merry, for one feels that Omar is trying to free himself from Destiny, and in trying to penetrate into the future has to fall back sadly upon the present. In speaking of the end Omar used to say, "My tomb shall be in a spot where the north wind may scatter roses over it," and at Naishapur, his last resting-place was just outside a garden, where rose trees stretched their branches over the garden wall and dropped their flowers upon the tomb. The great Oriental scholar, Sir Richard Burton, says: "The Oriental religion is the religion of beauty whose leading principle is that of earthly love, the imperfect type of heavenly love. Its high priests are Anacreontic poets; its rites wine, music and dancing, spiritually considered, and its places of worship meadows and gardens where the perfume of the rose and the song of the nightingale, by charming the heart, are supposed to improve the mind of the listener." This spirit must be read into the quatrains of Omar, but the doctrines of Sufism must be clearly interpreted in these words, "All created beings are emanations from God, and are finally re-absorbed in God."

FITZ GERALD: THE SCHOLAR-INTERPRETER.

There is no doubt that Omar the philosopher and Fitz Gerald the scholar-interpreter had much in common. To all lovers of the Rubaiyat the name of Edward Fitz Gerald is dear, for although other translations of the poem have been achieved by Josef Von Hammer-Purgstall, Friedrich Rückert and Richard Le Gallienne, we turn to the Fitz Gerald version with as much reverence for the translator as for the poet himself; indeed it may often be asked who, in this case, is the greater, the poet or the interpreter? The exquisite beauty, the faultless form, the singular grace of those amazing stanzas were not more wonderful than the depth and breadth of their profound philosophy, their knowledge of life, their dauntless courage, their serene facing of the ultimate problems of life and death. Such a reproduction of the poem of Omar by Fitz Gerald could only have been possible in the circumstances that the translator was a poet himself, with a complete knowledge of the Persian language, and of Persian customs and modes of expressions.

Like Omar he looked on the evils and sorrows of the world with a pitiful generosity and large-mindedness, and said "I am *with* him." "Old Omar's poem rings like true metal." Fitz Gerald's work is an inspiration, and his place is with the immortals, for he has left an imperishable heritage.

There is no doubt that Fitz Gerald was influenced in his paraphrase of Omar by his study of the Odes of Hafiz, the Mantik-ut-tair of Attar, which he paraphrased also, the Salaman and Absal of Jami, and the Gulistan of Sa-adi. In the Salaman, Fitz Gerald's first metrical translation from the Persian, and his first issue in print, we find

"Drinking that cup of Happiness and Tears

In which 'Farewell' has never yet been flung,"
and in the Rubaiyat

"Awake! for morning in the Bowl of Night

Has flung the stone that puts the Stars to flight."

This simile is not to be found in the original of Omar, but was adapted by Fitz Gerald, the throwing of a stone into a drinking cup being the secret signal for the Arabs in the desert to take to horse.

*An old man bowed and bent, with chin on breast,
As though stern Time had gripped him 'twixt its hands,
Crushing him close, to carry him away
In easy compass, more compact, at last . . .*

—L. MACLEAN WATT.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

MAY-KHANA (pp. 40 + 644 + 116).—By 'Abd-un-Nabi Khan, Edited by Prof. Muhammad Shafi', M.A. ('Itar Chand Kapur & Sons, Lahore), Rs. 5.

May-Khana is a very rare and important biography of Persian poets. It deals with those poets only who have written *Sāqī Nāmas*. Attention to this rare work (no copy of which, it may be mentioned incidentally, is found in any of the European libraries) was drawn for the first time by that well-known historian and critic, the late Shibli Nu'mani, whose *Shi'r-ul-'Ajam*, or Poetry of Persia, will ever remain among the standard works on the great masters of Persian Poetry. Unfortunately the copy of *May-Khana* which Shibli had in his collection could not be traced, and Prof. Shafi' had therefore to base his text on two copies only, neither of which, alas, was correct or complete. He has however edited the work with great care and ability, and wherever possible has collated the verses with the *Diwans* and Anthologies available. The result is that the editor has placed before the readers the most correct text that it was possible to prepare with the help of the two defective manuscripts and the many unpublished Anthologies that he could lay his hands on.

The *May-Khana* is divided into *three* sections, dealing with (i) the poets (26 in all) who died before the composition of the work, (ii) the poets (20 in number) who were alive at the time of its composition, and (iii) the poets (25 in all) who met the writer and conversed with him. Of these three sections, the last two are of utmost importance as they contain biographies of contemporaries and are replete with many personal reminiscences of the writers. There are certain details of the lives of the poets and accounts of their works which we can hardly get in any other biography of the Persian poets. As such, 'Abd-un-Nabi's copious and fairly accurate account of poets and their writings is of abiding value and interest.

Prof. Shafi' has written a learned Introduction, in which he has given an account of the author and his works, followed by a long and interesting dissertation on the origin and development of the *Saqi Nama* in Persian Poetry. Then comes the Text itself, with extremely valuable notes (extending over 116 pages) at the end. Three comprehensive

Indices of names of persons, books quoted in the text and the places mentioned therein add much to the usefulness of the work. In conclusion, we would like to congratulate Prof. Shafi' on bringing out a very carefully-edited text of one of the most important, though little known, biographies of the Persian poets, for which he deserves the gratitude of all lovers of Persian poetry.

The publishers also deserve our thanks on their enterprise in placing before us a nicely-lithographed work at such a low price.

M. M. H.

HOLY GATHAS (pp. 105+162+71).—By Pouré Davoud (P. D. Marker Avestan Series, Vol. I). Published under the joint auspices of the Iranian Zoroastrian Anjuman and the Iran League, Bombay. (Bombay, 1927.)

We have known Pur-i-Da'ud, for sometime past, as a poet and patriot. Professor Browne in his admirable *Press and Poetry of Modern Persia* (Cambridge, 1914), speaks of him in the following terms:—

"He is a young man about twenty-five years of age. He studied French in Beyrout (Syria) and is now studying Law in Paris, where he has helped to found, and actively supports, the 'Literary and Scientific Society of the Persians in Paris'" (p. viii).

But here Aqa Da'ud appears in the rôle of a scholar and an exponent of the ancient culture of Iran. The Iranian Zoroastrian Anjuman and the Iran League of Bombay are fortunate in securing the services of a true nationalist and a devoted student of the language, literature and religion of ancient Iran. Aqa Pur Da'ud came down to Bombay in 1925, since when he has been working, away from the dust and din of the town, on the ancient Gathas or Songs of the Prophet Zoroaster. This excellent volume is a tribute to his indefatigable labour and painstaking research, and to the enterprise of the members of the two leagues. The book is divided into two parts: (1) English and (2) Persian. It begins with a brief Introduction from the pen of that venerable scholar Dr. J. J. Modi, followed by the Introductory Note of Mr. G. K. Nariman, a well-known writer on Persia and the Parsis. We learn from Dr. Modi that Aqa Da'ud "had a long stay in Europe, where he studied French and German and where he had his early lessons in Avestan lore under European Orientalists," and it is a matter of satisfaction to note that Aqa Da'ud has made use of his Western training to great advantage and has succeeded in giving a very lucid and scholarly account of the Prophet Zoroaster, the language and

literature of the Avesta, the Gathas, the Institutes of Zoroaster and the Vocabulary of the Gathas, etc. He has admirably summarised the researches of Western and Eastern scholars and has placed before the Persian-knowing public a work of enduring value and abiding interest. As to the correctness or otherwise of the translation, which has been printed along with the original text, I am not competent to pronounce an opinion, but I think that Mr. Nariman is probably correct when he says that the "version of the extremely difficult import of the Gathas . . . is an enterprise whose failure would have been ensured in less erudite hands." Mr. D. J. Irani has done well to append a summary of the Persian *Preface* of Aqa Da'ud, while two *Indices* in Persian add to the usefulness of the work.

The general get-up leaves little to be desired; the Persian type is faultless; while two coloured reproductions and a number of half-tone blocks add to the attractiveness of the volume.

M. M. H.

TARIKH-I-FALSIFA-I-ISLAM.—By T. J. de Boer, translated into Urdu by Dr. Saiyyid 'Abid Husain, M.A., Ph.D. (Berlin); (Jami'a-i-Millia, Delhi). Price Rs. 2.

The History of Muslim Philosophy is a very fascinating subject. Some pioneer work has been done in the subject, but there is a mass of material, both in print and manuscript, which still lies unexplored. No doubt, monographs and *brochures* have appeared on the life and works of certain well-known Muslim philosophers, but so far no attempt has been made to present a continuous and complete account of the development of Philosophy in Islam. Dr. de Boer's *History of Muslim Philosophy*, which first appeared in German and was later translated into English, although elementary in character and based on second-hand materials, is nevertheless of value to students of Muslim Philosophy and will remain for some time to come a very useful compendium on the subject. Dr. de Boer has divided his work into *seven* chapters, in the first of which he has given a bird's-eye view of the political History of Islam, followed by a short dissertation on the Sciences of the East in general and that of Greece in particular. The second chapter is devoted to the study of Philosophy and the allied Muslim Sciences of Theology and Jurisprudence, and the third deals with the Philosophy of Pythagoras and the contributions of the *Ikhwan-us-Safa* Society of Basra to Muslim Philosophy. The fourth chapter contains a discussion on the Neo-Platonist and the Aristotelian Schools

of thought, with an exposition of the Philosophy of al-Kindi, al-Farabi, Ibn Maskawaih, Ibn Sina and Ibn al-Haitham, followed by an account of al-Ghazali and the system that he founded. The sixth chapter is devoted to an account of the development of Philosophy in the West and to the achievements of Ibn Tufail and Ibn Rushd, while the last is devoted to Ibn Khaldun and to the scholastic school of Philosophy.

Dr. de Boer has made a rapid survey of the whole field of Muslim Philosophy, but in so doing has failed in more than one way. He has ignored such important Muslim Philosophers as Razi, Ibn al-'Arabi and Shihabuddin Suhrawardy, while he has, for reasons known to himself, given an account of Ibn al-Haitham, who enjoys a reputation for proficiency in subjects other than Philosophy. The book, based as it is on second-hand materials, also suffers from sweeping and unwarranted generalisations. Nevertheless we are thankful to Dr. 'Abid Husain for presenting to the Urdu-knowing public a work, which, in spite of its many shortcomings, will be useful to many and will be read with interest by many more. Dr. Husain has translated the work direct from German, and in spite of the peculiar construction of that language which is quite unsuited to Urdu, has acquitted himself of the task very creditably.

The printing and get-up are nice.

M. M. H.

1. 'IBRAT (pp. 95).—By Khwaja 'Abdul Hayy Faruqi, Professor of Tafsir and Theology, Jami'a-i-Millia, Delhi (1926).
2. BURHAN (pp. 84).—By Khwaja 'Abdul Hayy Faruqi, Professor of Tafsir and Theology, Jami'a-i-Millia, Delhi (1927).

Since the publication of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's great commentary on the *Qur'an* several attempts have been made to present in a clear and convincing manner the contents of the Holy Book. The main object of the commentators has been to enable the Muslims to know the subject matter of the *Qur'an* and to explain to them its verses in a manner acceptable to those also who have received their training on Western lines. And perhaps with the same object in view Khwaja 'Abdul Hayy has attempted to publish a commentary of the *Qur'an*. The two books, *Ibrat* and *Burhan*, which are before us, belong to the Series which the Khwaja started a few years back. Of these, *Ibrat* contains a commentary on Sura *Yusuf*, while *Burhan* is an elucidation of Sura *an-Nur*. A feature of the books is their charming simplicity and

remarkable clarity of expression. The general arrangement of the books leaves little to be desired, the commentaries being fairly full. But we must point out that the Khwaja has gone rather far in introducing modern politics in a purely religious work. For instance, to say that since the advent of British into India, famine is a regular occurrence and that hundreds of thousands of people die of famine every year (p. 61), or that the British Government appoints Europeans alone as Finance Members, etc. (p. 62), is not only incorrect but also quite out of place in a book that professes to be a commentary on the *Qur'an*.

We only hope that the Khwaja will in his commentary on the following Suras confine himself to the subject-matter of the text only.

M. M. H.

PAYAM-I-AMIN (pp. 80).—By 'Abdullah Minhas (Shirkat-i-Adabiya, Amritsar. Re. 1.

Mawlana 'Abdullah Minhas is known to many of us. In *Payam-i-Amin* he has set forth the results of his researches into the history of the *Qur'an*. He has divided his book into four sections; in the first of these he gives a history of the development of the *Qur'anic* literature, and in the second makes an attempt to give an account of some important Arabic editions of the *Qur'an* published in Europe, and also its translations made in the East and the West. The third section which is the longest, and perhaps the best, contains extracts from the opinions of Western scholars on the *Qur'an* and its teachings. The fourth and the last section contains extracts from the opinions of Atheists, Hindus and a few Christians. Mawlana Minhas has collected a mass of materials on the *Qur'an* and ably arranged them. He says many interesting things during the course of his essay, of which I would refer to two only, namely (i) that when Shah Waliulla of Delhi brought out his Persian translation of the *Qur'an*, the fanatic Mullas declared a crusade against him and even went the length of plotting his murder, and (ii) that Dr. Flügel was not the first scholar to have prepared a concordance of the *Qur'an*, for some two centuries earlier an Afghan scholar, Mustafa Khan b. Muhammad Sa'id, had already prepared a concordance for the Emperor Aurangzib.

Mr. Minhas' work is a valuable contribution to *Qur'anic* literature and can be read with profit both by Muslims and non-Muslims.

M. M. H.

THE ORIENTS.—By I. A. Isaac. Pubd. by the author, Balugaon (Puri).

A short work of 100 pages in which the author sets out to show that occidental civilisation owes a very great deal to the Arabs and Jews, particularly of the Spain that was, and that it is matter for question whether it can claim superiority over theirs. There are short chapters on the proficiency of the "Orientals," dealing with their skill in medicine, engineering, etc., and their insatiable quest after knowledge. The book shows distinct "tendency" however, and is not scholarly, but in it there are collected many facts of striking interest.

A. H. H.

HAMARI SHA'IRI (pp. 5, 8, 134).—By Sayyid Mas'ud Hasan Rizawi, Adib, M.A. (Anjuman Taraqqi-i-Urdu, Aurangabad, Deccan). Cloth Rs. 2.

The book, which contains a critical appreciation of Urdu poetry, is a welcome addition to the useful Series published by *Anjuman Taraqqi-i-Urdu*, Aurangabad, Deccan. The author is of opinion that Hali's well-known *Muqaddama* on Urdu Poetry was written with a view to point out its defects and suggest means of improvement, but contrary to expectations it produced a very different effect on the minds of a majority of young readers. They derived the impression that Urdu poetry was artificial, void of true sentiments and even unnatural. The sooner such an impression was removed the better; and the author, conscious of his responsibility, has performed the task to the best of his ability. In the first part of the book, he has discussed poetry in general and has tried to state in brief the requisites of good poetry; and in the second he has attempted to show how far Urdu poetry comes up to the standard laid down in the first. He has enumerated a number of charges usually laid against Urdu poetry and has endeavoured to answer them with quotations from the works of the masters of that tongue. He has argued his case ably and few can charge him with exaggeration or incompetence. We hope that Mr. Hasan will continue his studies and present to us a larger and more complete work on the subject. The book has been nicely lithographed, but we regret that the text was not carefully revised in proof, as will appear from some of the misprints which we note here—p. 6, l.4; p. 14, l.2; p. 16, l.16; p. 23, l.15; p. 35, l.2; etc.

We are somewhat surprised to find that throughout the work the author has called *Shad*, the well-known poet of Patna, an inhabitant of

Lucknow. Any way, we commend the book to all students of Urdu poetry.

M. M. H.

WIT, HUMOUR AND FANCY OF PERSIA (pp. xii, 332).—By M. N. Kuka, M.A., Bombay House, Bruce Street, Bombay. (Price Rs. 5, Foreign 7s. 6d.).

The Persians are among the wittiest people in the East. Their language is rich and they use it to good advantage. Court-jesters and story-tellers existed in Persia during the reign of the Achaemenians, and even before, and their ready wit and amusing manners have always received the appreciation and approbation of kings and princes. The poets, who succeeded them in later years, occupied their place in the palaces of kings and the apartments of princes and nobles. They were masters of punning and seldom let an opportunity for exercising it slip. They could extemporise on the spur of moment and were never loath to praise or satirise any one. Persian literature abounds in stories of their wit, extempore utterances and flights of fancy. Mr. M. N. Kuka has ransacked the pages of a very large number of important works to collect the Anecdotes of Poets and Princes, and to give the finest specimens of Parody and Burlesque, Humour and Hyperbole, Fine Fancy and Quaint Dainties, Satire and Epigrams, Play on Words and Macaronic Verses, Riddles and Enigmas, etc. His selections are well-chosen and his rendering of Persian verses leaves little to be desired. It is always difficult to convey in another language the niceties and subtleties of idea and expression peculiar to a language, but Mr. Kuka has performed his task with considerable ability and, we may say, remarkable success.

Mr. Kuka has also given a few examples of his own composition which do him credit as a poet.

M. M. H.

BOOKS & PERIODICALS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

Books.

1. PALMER, H. R.—*Mai Idris of Bornu, 1571-1583*, together with the *Diwan* of the Sultans of Bornu and "Girgam" of the Magumi, Price 7s. 6d. (From Crown Agents' Office, 4, Millbank, Westminster, London, S.W.1.)
2. AHMAD 'ARIF.—*Khayaban-i-Urdu* (The Co-operative Muktab-i-Ibrahimiya, Ltd., Station Road, Hyderabad, Deccan.)

3. ABUL HASANAT GHULAM MUHIUDDIN QADIRI, *Zor.—Tanqidi Maqalat* (From the same as above.)
4. ABUL HASANAT GHULAM MUHIUDDIN QADIRI, *Zor.—Urdu Kay Asalib-i-Bayan* (From same as above.)
5. AHMAD ABDULLAH MASDUSI.—*Uswa-i-Hasana* (From same as above.)
6. SAIYYID HASAN BARNI.—*Albiruni* (2nd edition). From Anjuman Taraqqi-i-Urdu, Aurangabad, Deccan.

Periodicals.

1. *Science* (Quarterly), Vol. I, No. 1, edited by DR. MUZAFFAR-UD-DIN, Quraishi, Professor, Osmania University, Hyderabad, Deccan. Annual subscription Rs. 8. (From Anjuman Taraqqi-i-Urdu, Aurangabad, Deccan.)
2. *Ta'lim-u-Tarbiyat* (Quarterly), Vol. I, No. 1, edited by DR. SAIYYID ZAFAR-UL-HASAN, Khwaja Ghulam-us-Saiyyidain, and Dr. Saiyyid 'Abid Husain. Annual subscription Rs. 5. (From Office of the All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference, Aligarh.)
3. *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society* (Published twice a year), Vol. I, No. 1, edited by BRAZ A. FERNANDES, Annual Subscription Rs. 4. (From the Secretary, Bombay Historical Society, Exchange Building, Sprott Road, Bombay.)
4. *Islamic Culture* (Quarterly), Vol. II, No. 1, edited by M. PICKTHALL. Annual subscription Rs. 10. (From Manager, Islamic Culture, Civil Service House, Hyderabad, Deccan.)
5. *Moslem Chronicle* (Weekly), *Anniversary Number*. Annual subscription Rs. 12. (From Manager, 6, Hastings Street, Calcutta.)

*What we gave, we have;
 What we spent, we had;
 What we left, we lost.*

[Epitaph of Edward, Earl of Devon, surnamed from his misfortune, the *blind*, from his virtues, the *good earl* . . . After a grateful commemoration of the fifty-five years of union and happiness, which he enjoyed with Mabel his wife, the good earl thus speaks from the tomb.]

—C. STANFIELD'S *Coast Scenery*.

A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE ILLUSTRATED EDITION OF

DIWAN-I-GHALIB (MURAQQA'-I-CHUGHTAI).

Prepared by M. A. RAHMAN CHUGHTAI of Lahore.

It will contain 21 coloured plates reproduced in 4 or 5 colour blocks with gold, and printed by a world-famous French firm in Paris; also 2 coloured outline-reproductions in 4 or 5 colours with gold, and 2 black and white reproductions of pencil-sketches; thus every side of the illustrator's art will be represented in this one volume. There will be 11 plates printed in 7 or 8 colours and gold, on hand-made ivory board, as used in the case of old Persian manuscripts. There will be 11 other plates in black and white and printed in flat colours, a new device in the realm of art. All these illustrations will be mounted on artistically decorated mounts. The whole text of the *Diwan-i-Ghalib* has been written, after a careful collation of the text, by a famous master of the Art of Calligraphy. This will also be printed from blocks, so that the calligraphy may be presented at its best, unspoiled by lithography, and in this respect it will be breaking quite new ground in the field of Urdu publications. Every page of the text is printed with richly decorated borders and many other artistic embellishments. In short, the book covering about 300 pages and printed on Japan vellum with binding of Morocco-calf, and bearing an Oriental design by the artist, is the result of the workmanship of a leading firm in London. It will be enclosed and sold in a beautifully-designed embossed box. The limited de Luxe edition consists of only 210 copies, and each copy being numbered will bear the artist's autograph. Further, there will be 15 pages of Introduction in Urdu containing a criticism on Art and explaining its real motive and its effect on daily life. This will be helpful in creating an understanding and appreciation of Art.

It will also contain selections from Ghalib's *Diwan* made specially by Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, the renowned poet of India. Its price will be Rs. 110 per copy,—a moderate sum in view of the features mentioned above.

This undertaking has been a very ambitious one for an individual; its magnitude is so great that a State or a flourishing society might have undertaken it, but it is hoped that such as it is, it will meet with a warm welcome, and the years of devoted labour of the artist will bring forth fruit, as he aims at starting a new era of book-making in India.

MUSLIM INSTITUTE PAGE.

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We congratulate Mr. H. E. Stapleton, an Hony. Member and an Ex-President of the Institute, on his appointment as Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, during the absence on leave of Mr. E. F. Oaten. Mr. Stapleton has already made his mark as an administrator and his contributions to the history of Arab Chemistry have earned for him the appreciation of scholars and savants.

We take the opportunity of inviting his attention to the fact that Government have accorded departmental sanction to the scheme for a new building for the Institute at an estimated cost of Rupees One Lakh and fifty thousand (1,50,000) but that so far no provision has been made in the Budget for the amount. We hope that he will place before Government our urgent need of a larger and a more commodious building for the Institute.

Mr. J. H. Lindsay, M.A., I.E.S., Secretary to the Government of Bengal in the Department of Education, delivered a highly interesting and instructive lecture on the "League of Nation" in the Institute Hall on Friday the 27th January 1928. Sir Jahangir C. Coyajee, Kt., presided.

The Annual *Musháyerá* was held in February last. The attendance was large, and among those who recited their poems were a number of young members of the Institute.

We are sorry to state that Hakim *Nátiq* of Lucknow, whose presence added a particular charm to our *Musháyeras*, has retired from Calcutta. His absence will be keenly felt by our members, whose high esteem he enjoyed.

The *Iftar* Party, which is an Annual function of the Institute was followed by the Annual 'Id Re-Union. Both the functions were highly successful and well-attended.

Mr. Francis Balazs of Hungary, who is touring India on behalf of the Inter-National Youth Conference, delivered an interesting lecture on the "Youth Movement and the World Peace" in the Institute Hall on Wednesday, the 4th April, 1928. Shams-ul-'Ulama Mr. Kamaluddin Ahmad presided.

We had the pleasure of hearing Lisan-ul Qaum Maulana *Safi*, the well-known poet of Lucknow, on Monday, the 9th April, 1928. He recited a number of Odes and National poems which were much appreciated. Khan Sahib Maulvi Reza Ali, *Wahshat*, who presided, delivered a short speech, in which he pointed out the special features of *Safi's* poetry and laid stress on the fact that he (*Safi*) is the pioneer of a new school of thought in Urdu poetry.

KHALILUR RAHMAN.

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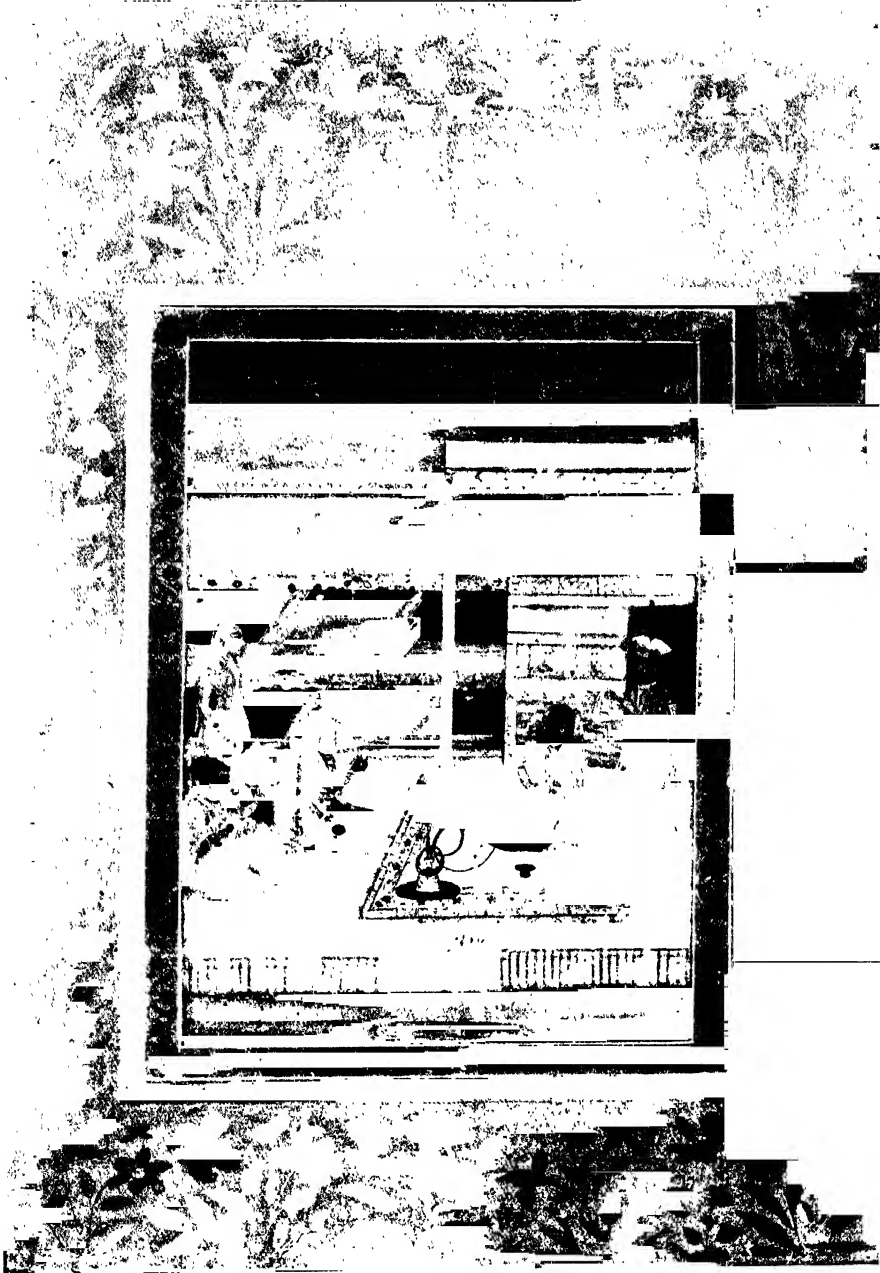
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Nur Jahan (By Dalchand.)

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN PAINTING.

THE EARLY SCHOOLS AND THE MUGHAL SCHOOL.

The richest art heritage which India possesses to-day is the paintings in the Buddhist caves of Ajanta. They have however not been studied even now as their importance demands, and it has not yet been realised that they occupy a foremost place in the art history of the world side by side with the finest products of Greek art. At one time it seemed as if Ajanta would come to its own in the estimation of the world of art critics and art connoisseurs, but unfortunately there has been a set back again in favour of Chinese art, which can be more easily comprehended by the westerner. The Ajanta paintings illustrate scenes in the life of Buddha and in his previous births as described in the Jataka stories. The walls of the caves were not painted in order that the paintings might serve as mere mural decorations, as great public buildings are decorated by western nations; the Buddhist monks who must have painted them used the walls as "precious space" for lovingly illustrating the sacred legends associated with the Buddha which had become a part of their existence. The paintings were thus a loving act of faith. I shall illustrate the Ajanta paintings by a few typical examples. The great Budhisatva in Cave I is a truly magnificent conception which we can behold only with reverential feelings. Here the artist has drawn in the front plane the wonderful figure of supernatural majesty and pity and relegated to the receding depths of the background all the other lay figures in decreasing proportions. The expression of infinite pity in this conception of divinity truly exalts the artist. The draughtsmanship is characterised by a grace and rhythmic flow of line which distinguished this early school. The story of the serpent king Samkhapala is represented fully in one of the most complicated compositions on the wall to the left in Cave I. In the section reproduced we see the visit to the ascetic of the King of Benares, the central figure under the royal umbrella on the elephant. The artist has skilfully treated his complex theme. While in the foreground we have the royal procession with the principal personage, the King, in the centre, in the background the figure of the ascetic before whom his royal visitor is seated with folded palms at once arrests attention. The three groups in the painting, the ladies of the court, the royal procession, and the ascetic and his devout worshippers show admirable

skill in composition and each individual figure is most charmingly and naturally rendered. The painters of Ajanta did not reduce their art to a formula as their successors the Jaina artists did. In the seclusion of their hermit existence they could glimpse the fullness of the drama of life with all its beauties and all its joys, and they painted the life of the outside world so vividly that it is still a living image of those early times. Spread over several centuries as were these paintings the Ajanta artists have left a record for all time of various types and every phase of life.

Let us turn to another masterpiece of the painter's art, the toilet scene in Cave XVII. For beauty of pose and form it is incomparable. The composition admirably fills the space. Everything is subordinated to the principal figure, which at once rivets attention. The figure of the lady is exquisitely drawn. She charms by her beautiful gesture, her graceful pose and the fullness of her divine form. Drawn with easy flowing lines it knows keen observation of the human form and of human life, for it must be borne in mind that this graceful creation is entirely the artist's own, for he painted from no living model and yet this artist has with wonderful insight drawn a picture of beauty adorning and admiring herself which is the embodiment of truth eternal. That artists who had such a deep feeling for beauty should revel in the beauty of the world of nature was to be expected. At the same time they were fully alive to the decorative effect of design. Accordingly not only are trees and shrubs and animal life lovingly treated, but we have exquisitely decorative ceiling designs and panels of floral and bird forms most sympathetically treated.

The Bagh cave paintings, a volume devoted to which has been lately published by the India Society, were contemporary with the latest of the Ajanta paintings and carry on the same tradition. Like the Ajanta paintings they are most precious memorials of a lost art which had attained an unrivalled excellence. With the influence of Buddhist painting outside India I am not concerned here.

The second phase of Buddhist painting in India is miniature painting, for Buddhist art re-appears after a lapse of three centuries in the illustrations of the Buddhist manuscripts from Nepal and Bengal of the *Astasahasrika Prajnaparamita*. It is easy to detect the tradition of Ajanta in the finest of these miniatures, though in the majority of examples the deterioration is very great. Although in the best manuscripts their restricted technique necessarily allows only a very distant approximation to the magnificent composition and splendid colouring of the wall paintings, their simple lines and the effective



The great Bodhisatava, Cave I, Ajanta



The story of the Serpent King, Cave I, Ajanta



Toilet scene, Cave XVII, Ajanta



Group of deer, Cave V, Ajanta

use of light and purity of colour point to a tradition of miniature painting which might well have extended back to the earliest known palm-leaf manuscripts. Justice can scarcely be done to the pictorial charm of these delicate miniatures less than 2" square in monochrome photographic reproductions, but the accomplished drawing and the decorative effect of the miniature loses nothing though there can be no compensation for the beauty of pure colour. Our first illustration from a Buddhist manuscript of the Pal period is probably the loveliest creation in the whole range of Buddhist miniature paintings. This mythological idyll shows a close affinity to the style of Ajanta. Sensitive drawing combines with delicate painting in this delineation of the overwhelming majesty and beauty of godlike forms. The artist has with extraordinary success painted atmosphere and expressed movement, for the figures appear floating above the clouds. The Ajanta painters, too, achieved remarkable success in painting forms floating in the air. Our next illustration prepares us for the miniatures of the Jaina school in its treatment of the face in profile and in its fondness for the pointed features which is so characteristic of the Jaina miniatures. The colour schemes of the Buddhist minatures are simple consisting principally of red, blue and yellow, and as at Ajanta mineral colours appear to have been used almost exclusively.

There are no monumental paintings of the Jainas extant if we except the Sittanvasal frescoes, the ascription of which to the Jainas is not free from doubt. Jaina art is an art of miniature painting and dates back to the thirteenth century, the earliest palm-leaf manuscript being dated 1237 A.D., but the best manuscripts with miniature illustrations belong to the 15th century. These manuscripts are extremely rare and our museums do not contain any. There are two Kalpasutra manuscripts of the 15th century besides others in my collection. The artistic vision of the Buddhist painters though mainly occupied with the representation of the divine was still wide enough to embrace every phase and variety of life. The Jaina artist's vision was restricted to the life spiritual. Compare the miniatures in the Nepalese Buddhist manuscripts of the eleventh and two succeeding centuries and the Buddhist MSS. from Bengal of the Pal period with the Jaina illustrated manuscripts, and the difference in the two schools will be apparent. The drawing of the Buddhist manuscripts is considerably superior, less conventionalized and less formal. There is superior rhythm in the balance and composition. The colouring, too, is more harmonious. The paintings make an emotional appeal which we hardly feel in the case of the Jaina illustrations.

The early Jain miniatures are of very great interest as regards their technique. In the space left on the leaf for the miniature, liquid gold paint or maybe gold leaf was first applied on so much of the space as would be occupied by the subject of the picture. Next a deep scarlet was used for the background, and it was so laid on on the gold that a design in gold of the picture was left. It seems probable that the Jaina miniaturist worked from a sketch. On the gold design the outline was drawn in black and the eyes, eyelids, ears, fingers, etc., were filled in. The result is that the faces and garments and the floral and other decorative motifs appear as if painted flat with gold. The peculiar prolongation of the eyes and the angular features are typical of the early Jaina miniatures and stamp them with a conventional unreality. The outstanding value of early Jaina painting lies in its decorative splendour. I have dealt at great length with the whole subject of the development of Jaina art in a recent contribution to *Artibus Asiae* (Nos. III-IV, 1927).

A close examination of available materials has enabled me to distinguish three styles of Jaina painting:—

- (1) the earliest style—the style of the period between the 13th and the 16th century, which may be called the archaic period of Jaina art;
- (2) the style of the period of contact with Mughal art, extending roughly from the end of the 16th to the middle of the 17th century;
- (3) the style of the late 17th century when Jaina art came under the influence of Rajput art, and of the 18th century, when it completely merged into the contemporary decadent phase of Rajput art.

The head-type varies in each of the three periods. First, we have the archaic profiles of the early art, then the clear-cut chiselled features of the Mughal period, and finally the fine oval countenances of the women and the whiskered faces of the men of the period of Rajput ascendancy. The red and gold miniatures of the 15th century, the technique of which I have just described, are replaced in the later periods firstly by an equally beautiful blue and gold, but finally by a less decorative and in most examples altogether unsatisfactory colour scheme in which red and yellow predominate and gold disappears.

The line in the Jaina miniatures is nervous and elastic; it is not executed with that perfect precision of elegant rhythmic and unbroken flow of curves and continuous lines which we associate with fine calligraphy. The miniatures in nearly all the manuscripts bear a close



Ceiling panel, Cave II, Ajanta



Miniature from a Buddhist Ms



Group of flying Apsares and Gandh
Cave XVII, Ajanta

resemblance and are in fact often identical, allowing for the difference in skill of individual artists. Early Jaina painting is brilliant craftsmanship rather than a great art and this is the reason why the Jaina art of the 15th century manuscripts must rank below the products of the other early schools.

Unlike the miniatures of the manuscripts, Jaina painted book covers do not usually reproduce stereotyped scenes, though at times the same scene with slight variations is bound in two covers for originality of invention was not sought by Jain artists so much as technical excellence and a rich decorative effect. The painted covers achieve much greater success in reproducing life as they are more consciously representational—borrowing directly from contemporary life. They are also more forceful in expression and exhibit considerable elegance and refinement.

It is difficult in the present state of our knowledge to trace the precise origin of the Jaina school of painting. In my view Jaina art as we find it in the early religious books right up to the 15th century and even later was a specialised and a splendid form of folk art. It was a distinctive form into which folk art had been moulded by hieratic tradition. This is the explanation of the intense conservatism of Jaina art—the conventionalized forms of the men and women and the sameness in the compositions. While Jaina art was not an art of independent growth it was a very real and special form of the art of the times, which on account of its distinctiveness is entitled to be known as Jaina art. On the other hand what has been loosely called "Jaina secular art" is not distinctively Jaina art at all and there is no reason for calling it secular in opposition to the religious art of Jainism. This so-called Jaina secular art or secular art of Guzerat, by whatever name it might be miscalled, is in reality the art expression of the people, the genuine folk art of the country. Examples of it are the *Vasanta Vilas* roll first described by N. C. Mehta in "*Rupam*" and the "*Lor and Chanda*" illustrations in the Lahore Museum.

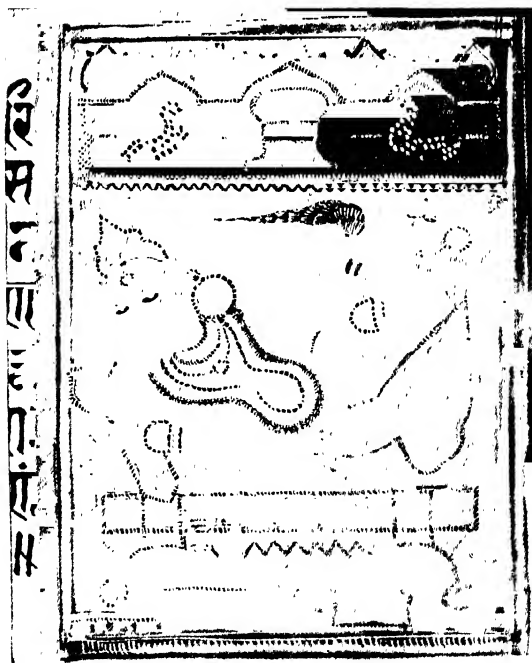
Buddhist, Jaina and Hindu art all had their origin in religious worship. It was otherwise with Mughal art. The earliest Moslem art with which we are concerned here shows strong Mongolian influence. It is analogous to the painting on the pottery of Rhages exhibiting the style of Mesopotamia underlying which is the old Sassanian art—the Mongolian influence being more strongly marked in the paintings than in the pottery. We need not go further back than the unique illustrations of the *Shahnamah* of the beginning of 13th century in my collection for examples of this early style of painting. This art expression is

simple and natural although it has at the same time a high decorative value. On this fabric is raised the beautiful structure of Persian art which in the 15th century under the spell of Bihzad's brush attains a perfection which has never been equalled in miniature painting. Bihzad was the most original and the most powerful master of design and expression. His younger contemporary, Mirak, was famed as the most brilliant of the Persian colourists. The Persians were justly proud of their national art. The exquisite draughtsmanship and elegant composition, and in an imperfect way the entrancing colouring, of a miniature of the very first order from a manuscript of Nizami dated 1521 in my collection, will be apparent from the colour plate illustrating Prof. M. Mahfuzul Huq's paper on specimens of Muslim calligraphy in the Ghose collection which appeared in the October (1927) issue of the *Muslim Review*. It was miniatures like these which inspired the work of the early Mughal artists, for the cultured Mughal princes showed an enthusiastic admiration for Persian art.

Babur refers to Bihzad and other painters in his famous autobiography and his observations show what a keen lover of Persian art and patron of painting the first of the Mughal Emperors was. The fact that the greatest of the Persian artists in Akbar's court Khajah Abdus Samad came to India in the train of Humayun taken with the latter's encouraging Akbar to learn drawing, proves that Humayun too patronised painters. Akbar's love for painting has been immortalised by Abul Fazl, and it is to Akbar that Mughal art owes its origin. He was a great patron of letters and he gathered together a magnificent library worth a fabulous sum. The court of Akbar was the great emporium of the East, and we may take it that the finest and most beautifully written and magnificently illustrated volumes of the Persian calligraphists and miniaturists found their way into his library. An exquisitely illustrated copy of Nizami's *Khamsa* which once belonged to the great Akbar—probably the very volume which Abul Fazl records he delighted to hear read—is in my possession and bears the Emperor's seal. No other volume which bears any indication of Akbar's ownership is known to exist anywhere else. Abul Fazl names only four Mahommedan artists and over a dozen Hindus, but he makes the significant statement that Khajah Abdus Samad was the director of the art studies of the Hindu painters. That the masterpieces of the Persian artists contained in the precious volumes in the Imperial Library were studied to good purpose by Abdus Samad and his pupil is evidenced by the magnificent illustrations of the Persian books produced during the reign. Abul Fazl records nine great works. Of these the *Romance*



Miniature from a Nepalese Ms



Birth of Mahavira (Kalpasutra Ms
Dated 1480 A.D.)

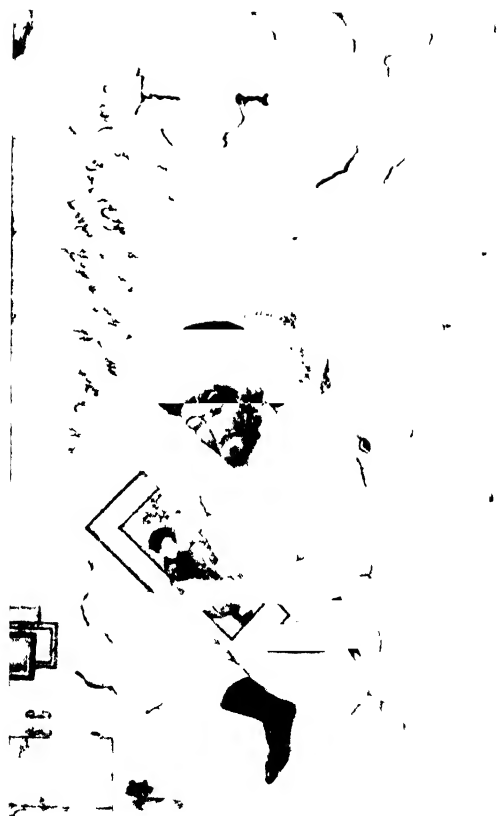
GHOSE COLLECTION.

of *Hamzah*, though in fragmentary parts, and the *Razmnamah* and *Akbarnamah* are the chief treasures which have survived.

The artists who illustrated these books sought to represent the magnificence of their world—the magnificence of the life of the court to which they did homage. Accordingly they painted scenes of pomp and pageantry, of sport and war. An illustration of the *Akbarnama* painted by an artist of Akbar's court in my collection is a splendid example of this art. The scene represents a hunter bringing before the young Akbar as a trophy a rhinoceros he had killed, and the excitement and interest which the unusual sight has aroused is admirably depicted by the artist. The whole painting is a brilliant juxtaposition of masses of pure colour. On the back of this painting is a beautiful specimen of penmanship by the famous Mir Imad. In what honour this prince of calligraphers was held is apparent from the recorded fact of the Emperor's having wept on hearing of his death and expressed regret that Shah Abbas had not sent Mir Imad to him for he "would have paid the calligrapher's weight in pearls for him." It is the early phase of Mughal art when Persian examples were imitated, but with an astonishing success for the imitation is seldom slavish and the execution magnificent, "worthy of Bihzad" as the enthusiastic Abul Fazl would have it, to which the designation "Indo-Persian" art should be applied. While the episodic was of supreme importance to this Indo-Persian art, already the personal and individual claimed the artist's attention and Abul Fazl speaks of a great album of portraits of the nobles and courtiers. Following the illustration of the magnificent volumes of the *Hamza* and the other books mentioned by Abul Fazl there sprang up a distinctive style from which all foreign elements, notably Persian, vanished. This is the real Mughal art. It was eminently an art of portraiture. The realism of Mughal art attained its maturity in the reign of Jahangir, a great connoisseur and one of the greatest patrons of art. Pictures of Jahangir in advanced age are fairly common. I reproduce one in my collection showing him in the prime of life—a fine portrait study. While in Persian art beauty of line and colour predominate, the Mughal artist develops an interest in the outward expression of character. Just as the Mughal painters' chiefest achievement is portraiture so the most distinctive feature of Mughal painting is its use of a pure sensitive and flowing line which attains its perfection in the painting of portraits. Warmth and brilliancy of colour dazzle us in the illustrations of the *Hamza*, the *Razmnamah* and *Akbarnamah*. A love for more sober colouring shows itself in the

reign of Jahangir and in many portraits of nobles of Shah Jehan's time the soft and harmonious colouring contribute no little to the success of the artists; a typically perfect example in my collection is a portrait by Bal Chand.

AJIT GHOSE.



Riza i 'Abbasi painting a portrait (Safawide School)

GHOSI COLLECTION



Prince Danyal and Janan Begam (Mughal School.)

GHOSE COLLECTION.

THE ABBASID CONQUEST OF EGYPT AS SEEN BY A CHRISTIAN.

From the History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria,

BY SEVERUS B. UL MUQAFFA'.

Some men from Bashmur under the leadership of Mena b. Bukaira and some from the village of Basrat had rebelled against Abd ul Malik (b. Marwan b. Musa), seized this district, and did not pay taxes to the governor of Egypt till the Lord visited them. The Lord helped them to victory. Abd ul Malik sent an army against them but they overpowered it with God's help and killed it with the edge of the sword. He sent another army and a fleet on the river but with God's help they defeated and killed them. When Marwan came to Egypt they told him all this so he sent them (the men of Bashmur) a written pardon but they would not accept it. He sent against them a great army, Muslims of Egypt and his own followers. It reached the place where the Christians of Bashmur were but could not get at them for they had made themselves forts in the swamps and remained on their guard. Then Abu Muslim came with his troops to the province of Damascus and divided his army between two brave amirs, Salih b. Murra and Abu 'Aun his friend. He told them, 'If you find Marwan and capture him, I will make you kings; I will make Salih my successor and will give Egypt to Abu 'Aun'. He sent 60,000 horsemen and 60 amirs with Salih and gave 40,000 horsemen and 400 chiefs to Abu 'Aun. They reached Damascus which was governed by a son-in-law of Marwan, the husband of his eldest daughter. He surrendered to them and they confirmed him in his post. They marched on Egypt and when they came to Gaza the inhabitants told them that the people of Damascus had not put on black clothes. So they went back in anger, massacred the inhabitants of Damascus, killed the governor, and took prisoner the daughter of Marwan. When he heard the news he reviewed his troops and found only 8,000 cavalry left. He made a proclamation that he would remit taxes and give clothing and mounts to the Egyptians who sided with him. 1,000 men joined him at once

and he gave each one 10 dinars. Then 2,000 more joined him, besides those he had let out of prison and the black slaves.

He sent his sister's son with one of his generals to Alexandria to win over the people there. Now in the town was a leader named al Aswad with many troops as a guard against the Greeks. Marwan had ordered his emissaries to kill al Aswad with ten of his generals because he had not joined him in Cairo. Al Aswad had a friend in Cairo, a councillor of Marwan. He heard this and wrote to al Aswad and told him all about it before these men reached Alexandria. When he learnt this, he and his soldiers were of one mind; he seized the emissaries on their arrival, and threw them into prison. He collected many Muslims from Alexandria, Mareotis, and Buhaira, and stationed them outside the town to guard the roads. When the news came to Marwan he sent a big army under a leader named Kawzar (? Kawthar), who was like a wild animal in his bravery. They were 500 fighting men and he told them to destroy Alexandria. They camped at Bakum not far from the city. When al Aswad heard of it he sent his brother with 500 men to reconnoitre. Marwan's soldiers saw them and thought that they were the only troops they would have to fight so they attacked and killed most of them. The survivors fled to the town, hotly pursued. They reached al Aswad, cried out, 'Our city is taken.' Then al Aswad was defeated though he had 30,000 men, fled, and hid himself. Kawthar captured the town, killed many, plundered the headmen, put in prison their wives and children, and seized all their goods. He also made prisoner the patriarch Anba Khail (Michael). He asked him why he had instigated his children the Christians to fight them, talked much with him, asked him for money when he had none, put him in prison, and fastened a block of iron to his sacred feet. The priests had fled from the dangers in Alexandria and there only remained with us the priest of S. Mark the Evangelist, Leontius the deacon and secretary, and Bartholomew the monk of Samnud, who were in bonds with us. Then he seized Kosmas the Melkite patriarch and put his feet in irons along with the feet of our patriarch. After five days Kosmas collected from the church 1,000 dinars, and paid them to Kawthar, who set him free. He told our father the patriarch he would set him free if he would pay the same sum. He answered, 'My church has nothing; I put myself in place of it; do as you please.' For full nine days he was illtreated. Then Kawthar sent for him, gripped his hand, threw him on his knees, and gave him two hundred blows on his head and body with a stick which he had in his hand. But Christ who gave himself for his holy people kept him and he took no harm. He

ordered his head to be cut off and servants dragged him away like a sheep for the slaughter. When they had taken him a short way from that hypocrite he pulled his *kalansurwa* (a tall cap) over his face so that they might take his head. He stretched out his neck with joy and the executioner put out his hand and cried three times, as is the custom, 'I will take his head,' asking his permission which he gave. At the third request God touched his heart and he said 'What profit is there in killing this old man who was on our side against his children, and sent them a letter which they did not receive? (He meant the people of Bashmur). We will take him with us to Rosetta and make him write to them again and tell them that they are the cause of his suffering.' He ordered him to be set free. When the men of Bashmur heard the tale they attacked those who besieged them, killed them, and pursued them for two days. Those who escaped death went to Marwan and told him what had happened.

When Marwan heard that his enemies had drawn near and had killed his son-in-law the governor of Damascus, he sent to those who had fled before the men of Bashmur to come to him quickly for he had need of them. He told them to sack and burn every town they passed. These unbelievers marched south, killed all the headmen, plundered their goods, and enslaved their families and children. They burned monasteries and convents till they came to Sharki (Sharkiyn?). There was a convent of nuns, virgin brides to Christ, thirty in number. They made prisoners of them, among them a virgin who had entered the convent at the age of three. When they saw her they were amazed at her beauty and declared that they had never seen among men a form like hers. They seized her, took her from her sisters, and debated what they should do with her. Some said they should cast lots for her, others that they should take her to the king. While they were talking she said, 'Where is your chief? I have something to tell him which is worth money. Then you will let me go for I am a handmaid of God.' One said 'I am he.' She said, 'My fathers were a race of warriors, brave and strong. They gave me an ointment with which they anointed themselves when they went to battle so that iron could do them no harm, and swords and spears became as (wax) against their bodies. If you will let me go I will give it to you. If you do not believe what I say, I will anoint my neck, then bring the best sword you have and let one of you strike me. He will not cut me at all and you will know that I speak truth.' She spoke with wisdom for she wished to die by the sword and not be defiled. She went to her cell, anointed her face and body with holy oil that was hidden there and kneeled down. The

foolish soldiers thought it was all genuine and did not know what was in her mind. She said to them, 'Let him who is strong and has a sharp sword show his strength against me and you will see the glory of God in this ointment.' A brave youth who boasted in his sword sprang out, so she hid her face in her veil and bowed her head and said to him, 'Strike with all your strength and do not doubt.' He smote the holy martyr and her head flew off. Then they knew what she had done, were very sorry, and great fear fell upon them; they paid no heed to any of the virgin nuns, but left them, and went their way praising God.

Marwan ordered Kawthar to hurry to him from Alexandria without delay. At Rosetta he learnt that the Bima (Christian heretics) had killed the Muslims there and had destroyed it and burnt it with fire, and that the enemies were near. He delivered Anba Khail to one of the amirs to lead to Marwan.

(Here follows the tale of a prophecy about the fall of Marwan.) The soldiers used to ill-treat us. We drew near to the patriarch and saw fire going up from Fustat and were told that Marwan had fired the stores of wheat, barley, and cotton. The soldiers treated us worse when they heard this and cried out against us. My father (the bishop Anba Masis) put his hand in mine, put on mean clothes, left all that was in his residence, and went out. None of the bishops and churchmen stayed with the patriarch save myself and a reader from the church of Abu Macarius named Jacob of Bilbes. Marwan proclaimed by sound of trumpet for three days in Cairo that he would kill any man or animal left in the city after that time because he was going to burn all Fustat with fire. All crossed to the island. All men fled in boats, even veiled women who had never gone out at all took their children and left all their goods. He set fire to Cairo in the south and it burned to the north till it reached the great mosque of the Muslims. Men and animals beyond counting fell into the river and were drowned as they could find none to carry them across as they fled from the fire. The friend fled with his friend, the brother with his brother, and the blind with his guide in fear of the flames. Men lay in the streets and roads in Wasim and in sheltered places in Gizeh like corpses at what had befallen them. They were in great distress, hungry and thirsty, and could find nothing to eat because of the multitudes and because the stores in Cairo had been burnt.

The soldiers went to Kawthar and told him of our arrival. He told a man named Azrak to take charge of us till he decided what to do with us.

Marwan learnt that the men of Khurasan had reached Farama. He sent men in boats to the rivers in all the province to burn all the boats they could find. They did so. He sent others by land, telling them to burn the towns, villages, vineyards, and irrigation machines wherever they found them. They reached Athrib and proposed to burn it. There five rivers run to the west besides the canals which run to the Nile. Marwan proposed to make a stand on the west bank while the men of Khurasan on the east bank finding it waste and bare of men, animals, food, and crops, and finding nothing to support life and no boats in which to cross, would not stay long but would retrace their steps. They told him of the near approach of their enemies and that there were fords in the river which they could cross. He recalled those who had gone to Athrib to burn it before they had burnt it; they hurried back on 18 Abib, year 470 of the Martyrs. That night he burnt the castle of Cairo and crossed with all his army in boats and camped on the bank of the river but he did not burn the boats, which were with him on the west. The soldiers brought us to him every day and he told them to keep us wherever he went so they took us about with him. We were in great distress from the throngs of men and animals, the crowding, and the mobs.

At sunset on the 19th Abib the men of Khurasan reached Cairo. He saw them from the west bank and ordered his soldiers to gather on that night. The men of Khurasan went on arriving till the morning; they abused Marwan and his children violently and at length. They pitched their tents to the south of Fustat in a place called the Stable and scattered to the hills and the neighbourhood of the river. This was their van and the rear stretched from Farama to Gaza. These were the scouts. At the first hour of the night of 20 Abib he summoned us for he was full of anger and wrath against us because Kawthar had provoked him against us. How great was the trouble and anxiety that came upon us at that hour! I remember that I trembled and was afraid, Who would not weep to see our sufferings? When we stood before him the words of David were fulfilled, 'My friends stood far off from me.' There stayed with us only the archpriest Abu Sarja, the overseer (?) Taidar who afterwards became bishop, and the deacon Isidore the secretary of the patriarch who was in Cairo. These left their wives, children, and property and followed us, saying that they would die with us. When Anba Michael saw their goodness he blessed them and told them to go home and not to follow us but they did not do so. They went with us. I wore the dress of a monk though I had no right to it; my father held my left hand in his right and leaned

on me. When we came to Marwan's tent a terrible executioner came out and went back with us at the king's order. When he saw us he asked which of us was the patriarch and when he was told he commanded to lead him forward. They did so and took us apart. The bishop Anba Masis was thrown on to his knees, his feet raised to his shoulders, and they beat him with brass clubs on his flanks and neck, saying the while, 'Give us a bribe and we will let you go.' He answered not a word. He prostrated himself on the ground praying and giving thanks, asking that the Lord would make him worthy to suffer for his church. They did not say a word to me for they saw my mean dress.

The holy father Anba Michael stood before Marwan who gazed at Cairo and saw the men of Khurasan his enemies looking at us and the Egyptians on the bank of the river, all cursing Marwan, as they told him later. We saw a man of Khurasan shoot an arrow at the west bank. The Christians left in Cairo told the men of Khurasan that their patriarch was standing before Marwan and they did not know what he would do to him. The men of Bashmur had met the men of Khurasan at Farama and told them that Marwan had taken the patriarch to kill him because they had fought Marwan and his troops and had killed them before the coming of the troops from Khurasan.

Kawthar said to Marwan that the patriarch had said to the people of Alexandria, 'Be strong, for God will take the kingdom from Marwan and give it to his enemies.' He made similar charges. When he heard this the interpreter said to the patriarch, 'Are you patriarch of Alexandria?' He said, 'Yes, I am your servant and hear of these things because I am near.' Marwan said, 'Tell me, are you the head of the enemies of the religion?' The confessor answered, 'I am not the chief of evil men but of good. My people do no evil but trouble has afflicted them till they sold their children.' After that no one heard a word from his mouth.

Marwan told the servants who held him to stretch out their hands and pull out the beard from his cheeks. They threw the hair into the river and I saw it floating on the water. His beard was long and fair descending on his breast like Jacob Israel. Those on the east bank saw what was done to him and wanted to cross and kill Marwan but could find no means of crossing at all though the river did not begin to rise till the first of Mesri and the west branch was dry without water and there were fords across the other. However the men of Khurasan did not know them and Marwan had set guards over them. No boat from the west came near Cairo. Then the sixth hour of the day passed

and the blessed father stood before Marwan without a beard and my father Masis continued in the torture I have mentioned till that time. The Lord who loves men opened his eyes and he saw two martyrs Sergius and Wakhis and the goodness of God surrounding him; they were in the form of two soldiers of the king who had crossed the river on their horses and none saw them save him alone till they stood beside Marwan. They asked him why he sat there idle when the enemy had crossed to the west bank. None saw them except the bishop Masis and Marwah, for the patriarch was with the servants who tortured him. The two holy martyrs vanished. Marwan mounted, told the army to assemble and to guard us till the morrow. The rest of the day we spent on the bank of the river in the heat of the sun as the soldiers ordered, and I thought that my father would not live till sunset from the violence of the torture he had suffered. In the morning we were joined by bishops and monks who came from Wadi Habib when they heard of our sufferings.

Marwan came on horseback, dismounted, and had us brought to Buhat. When the sun rose he sent an executioner to fetch Anba Khail alone. The executioner took hold of his hand and told us to sit down till we were called. Anba Masis cried out, 'I will not leave my father but will follow him everywhere.' They took him to him and I hurried with them to know what would happen to them. The executioner said, 'The King has given no order except to bring the patriarch alone.' The bishop said, 'I have already told you that I cannot leave my father. I came here for his sake only. Do what you please, I cannot forsake him.' The executioner was angry and said roughly, 'It is not good to oppose the king. But you will not listen.' He had in his hand a brass club weighing 20 *rotls* and he lifted it to hit my father on the head. He put forward his head. As he wanted to strike many servants ran forward and did not let him strike. The soldiers said, 'Truly this is a bishop and a good servant to his lord.'

Then a second messenger came saying that the king had ordered all of us to be brought in. Marwan sat on the bank of the river and we were brought to him. The blessed father was led forward first as the king ordered. He stood before him the whole day, ten hours; his face was towards him but his heart was with Christ, his hands were spread open in prayer, and he made the sign of the cross on his face without fear of the king who hated the sign of the cross. He did not speak one word though drawn swords and tools of war were about him. He commanded us to be put on his left hand in a place apart and to be given in charge to men other than those who had brought us from

Alexandria. They gave us to men like wild beasts and ordered their chief Yazid, who was brave beyond his fellows, to keep us. There were ten of us beside the patriarch, three soldiers were appointed to each, and they ill-used us. When the sun grew hot they got ready the tools of death, of various sorts, for they did not know by what manner of death they would kill us. Then I and my father Masis asked him to say the absolution over us according to the law of the church and he did so. We kissed one another and the younger said to the older, 'If you find mercy from the Lord Jesus Christ, remember me.' Our faces were towards the east and we prayed in sight of those on the east and west banks of the river, and many of the Muslims wept. Abdulla the eldest son of Marwan wept for us with the rest. Marwan gazed at the east bank, saw the crowds of the men of Khurasan and was troubled. He wondered how he could fight them and knew not what to do. Now Abdurrahim the unbeliever knew how to paint ships so that they would not catch fire. He painted the boats, put 80 men in each and told them to fight. They threw fire at them and whenever it caught the boats they were burnt. The first boat that reached the land was met by Salih and Abu 'Aun the amirs with their soldiers; it overturned and only one man of the 80 in it escaped. The Egyptians who were serving with them in it captured them, bound them two and two with chains of iron about their necks, dragged them along, and handed them to the men of Khurasan. These had brought some boats to Cairo.

At the tenth hour the king commanded Yazid our guard to take us to the river of Buhat. We prayed on the edge of the stream that day. As they dragged us along in great distress the Lord looked upon our faithful life and put it into the heart of Abdulla the son of Marwan to intercede with his father. With many tears he asked him to set us free. He said, 'Our enemies are gathering; we are prepared for death; we are in dire straits. If we go to the land of the blacks who, it is said, are the children of this old man and under his commands—if we kill him they will rise against us and kill us.' Then he sent us back to prison. In that place were four prisons and they made us secure with wood and iron so that we were in great distress. The first to be bound with iron was the patriarch, then the bishop Anba Masis, and then I his child the wretched Yuhannis, the deacon, upon whom he had laid his hand unrighteously. (The names of eight others follow.) They tied a heavy block of iron to the foot of each one, and put us behind three doors where was neither light nor air nor rest. One faced east and another west and we were more wearied by the distress than

by the irons till we were near to death by reason of the distress and the merciless bonds. The unbelieving king Marwan had commanded this. The father was more sorry for us than for himself and cheered us with the word of God and the holy laws given to our fathers. Therefore not one of us hid anything from another and we were all of one mind as Paul said, waiting for the decision and asking God to bring it quickly to make us a sacrifice for the people that none of them might go astray. The father, when he spoke with the language of the spiritual lyre, breathed into us the breath of life with spiritual praises. He fasted and prayed night and day. Anba Masis from the first hour they came and chained us prophesied that they would not kill us at that time and we should not escape from imprisonment while Marwan was still alive. It was as he said. When we wanted to eat, a man named the son of Custes sent us food. We could not eat in comfort nor could we turn to right or left because we were chained so closely.

There was great scarcity in Gizeh because of the crowds gathered there. Wheat and barley could not be had at all; a *waiba* of it (barley) reached a great price and in the scarcity the price of wheat went up first. . .

After all the harm he had done in all parts Marwan commanded his soldiers to kill, capture, and plunder in all the towns near them; he also sent troops to upper Egypt and killed many Christians. Zabban b. Abd ul Aziz was in command; they destroyed Memphis as far as the town of Theodosia. When God wished to punish them he was not patient because they had defiled and outraged women and defiled virgins. Some who knew the fords rose up and led the men of Khurasan to them so that they crossed to the west bank. They divided the army into four parts, one with Salih in the north; one under Abu'l Hakam to guard Cairo, one in the neighbourhood of Shatnuf to protect the crossing of the river, and one under Abu 'Aun at a dry ford. Then Marwan sent Kawthar and his troops to prevent them from crossing but the men of Khurasan took Marwan's ships. The men of Khurasan wore black clothes and had destroyed the church of Abadil the martyr. We were in prison and distress; none dared to ask after us lest he should be imprisoned likewise. If any man came to ask a blessing from the fathers he gave the guards a present and when they received it they afflicted us the more; as they did to the martyr Ignatius who said, 'They gave me to ten lions. When they showed them kindness, they tortured us more.'

We stayed with them ten days and ten nights like this and when the deacon from Bilbes saw our afflictions he went quickly to the monastery of Abu Macarius in the wadi Habib, collected all the holy monks and they fasted and prayed in the church night and day, crying to the Lord Christ to deliver us from danger and men from slavery, death, spoliation, and the wailing of small and great. God the merciful heard them. Abu 'Aun crossed with his army to the west side. Kawthar was defeated and they followed in pursuit and went on killing them till they reached the wadi Habib. By the prayers of the saint the army of Khurasan passed on the day they were gathered in the church, Saturday the last of Abib. The army of Marwan was killed and only 400 men left. When Marwan heard that their army was divided into four he fled two days before they crossed, took his women and goods, and fled secretly. More than 300 of his troops were killed. He fled from Shatnuf towards Mt. Wasim while his two sons were in Gizeh and did not know whither their father had gone. He had sent the younger northwards to the island of Buhat. He was evil like his father. But the elder, our fathers prayed for him that he might not fall into danger because of what he had done for them; and it was so. The younger was 15 years old and with 400 horse he was driven back to Buhat. He found some oil called dogs' oil in glass jars so he took it and poured it on the river and set it alight in Buhat and then joined Marwan his father. He set free all in the prison there except us; indeed he wanted to burn us. He went among the boats of the fleet intending to burn them when a great shout was heard, 'Lo your enemies have come,' so he fled with his followers. Those who were left behind set fire to Buhat and at sunset took us out of the prison with the irons still on our legs. God is our witness that some Muslims dismounted from their horses and loosed the irons off us. They put on women's clothes and hid themselves in storehouses and closets for fear of the terrible voice they had heard. They took us to St. Peter in Gizeh and went with us a day or two. This was Sunday night, 1 Mesri.

There was no water in the Gizeh river for it had dried up at God's command and the water did not rise till the day when the men of Khurasan knew that these men had fled and took boats and crossed to Gizeh and followed Marwan. They killed every one they met who did not wear black clothes. That night the first army which crossed from Shatnuf under Abu 'Aun marched south with drawn swords in full armour in pursuit of Marwan to capture him. That night no one slept, instead we watched them. Three days and nights

they passed by us, one army from the river to the hills. Kawthar sent to them secretly to ask for pardon and to join them but they would not have him. They told his messengers that they would not pardon him unless he betrayed to them Marwan the enemy of God. He promised to betray him and went to him to betray him. He said to him, 'Our enemies are at hand, let us take our wives, children, and wealth and go down the river in boats secretly and go to the land of the Greeks. For if we fall into the hands of this man we die.' Marwan said to him, 'Kawthar, you want to betray your lord,' drew his sword quickly, hit him on the neck, and killed him. His followers joined in killing Kawthar and killed his horse also. The men of Khurasan were safe.

None could withstand or resist the men of Khurasan. They made a proclamation that all Christians should have a cross on their foreheads, on their clothes, and on the doors of their houses. The men of Khurasan carried crosses of gold or silver on the necks of their horses. Then Salih's army overtook the other son of Marwan and pursued him for a whole day. The fighting went on from night to morning and numbers were killed. Salih followed as far as a hill to the west of Cleopatra a city built by Alexander of Macedon, the place of which the saint whom Marwan burnt prophesied. Zabban b. Abu ul Aziz was killed and the men of Khurasan captured Hulwan and all in it. They ripped up the bellies of the women, plundered all the wealth of Cairo that was in Hulwan, killed at the edge of the sword all the adherents of Marwan, and loaded their goods into boats.

On 1 Mesri the river began to rise and rose a cubit daily till it reached 18 cubits. Therefore men said that the hand of God was with these men by reason of the crosses they wore. They published in all provinces that they would reduce the tribute. They crucified Marwan head downwards at a place called Darbun (?), we saw him, and cut off the head of his vizier. The leaders of the troops of Khurasan asked about us so we went to them. They treated the patriarch Anba Khail kindly and showed him much honour. All that the patriarch asked from the king for the church was granted him. The men of Bashmur were excused tribute and were given other gratifications. Marwan had burnt the books and registers of the government offices so no one knew the assessments nor the schedule and there was great peace in Egypt.

Note.—The men of Bashmur were Christian heretics.

Transl. by A. S. TRITTON.

NUR JEHAN.

(BY NAWAB NIZAMAT JANG, O.B.E., C.I.E.)

Light of the world! Was it thy beauty bright
That made the world re-echo with thy fame?
Wast thou the only star in Eastern night,
To fill the East with thy resounding name?

When He thy Maker made thee passing fair,
And gave thy form with every charm to shine,
Did He not give thee more than beauty's share
And fill thy heart with impulses divine,

That when thou didst adorn a monarch's throne—
Even thou, O Queen, a humble maiden born—
It might be thine to make a tyrant own
That grace of kings which he had learned to scorn?

Yes, thine it was his spirit to redeem
From taint of mortal grossness and its harms
By the pure grace that from thy soul did stream,
As by the soft allurements of thy charms.

The mystic light that shone through beauty's veil
Dispelled the darkness of his spirit's night,
Which, wakening, hailed thee, as we now do hail,
"Light of the World" that was his world of light!

MIR SHIHABUDDIN.

Mir Shihabuddin, Imad-ul-mulk, Ghiyaz-uddin¹ (Ghaziuddin) Firoz Jung, for years the prime minister or Wazir of the Mughal empire or as much as was left of it in 1752, was one of the principal figures in the political arena of northern India in the middle of the 18th century. By birth he was descended from a Mughal, *i.e.*, an inhabitant of Central Asia. He was the eldest son of Ghaziuddin Khan Firoz Jung II, who was the eldest son of Mir Qamruddin, the first Nizam-ul-mulk Asaf Jah and the hereditary viceroy of the six Mughal provinces of the Deccan. The members of this family were the leaders of the Mughal or Turani party in the court of the Later Mughals from the time of the Emperor Shah Alam I Bahadur. Two branches of the family had gained ascendancy during the reign of Farrukhsiyar. These were Mir Qamruddin and his uncle Muhammad Amin Khan Chin. Both of them were descended from Alam Shaikh of Samarkand. Mir Qamruddin's father had risen to power during the Deccan wars of Aurangzeb and was honoured with the title of Ghaziuddin Khan Firoz Jung I. Muhammad Amin Khan, the son of Mir Bahauddin, the younger son of Alam Shaikh, came to India at the age of 25 in 1687 and rose to be the chief Wazir of the Mughal empire after the defeat and death of the Saiyads Abdullah and Husain Ali Khan in 1720². The defeat of Abdullah Khan Qutb-ul-mulk at the battle of Hasanpur³ marks the decline in the fortunes of the Hindustani party at the court of Delhi from which the latter never recovered. Under Muhammad Shah the great Wazirs were for the most part Mughals, like Muhammad Amin Khan Chin, the first Nizam-ul-mulk Asaf Jah, Qamruddin Khan, the son of Muhammad Amin Khan Chin, Imad-ul-mulk and Intizam-ud-daulah, the eldest son of Qamruddin Khan. For a short time only after the death of Muhammad Shah the Hindustani party gained the

¹ The name is once written Riyaz-ud-din in the Persian records of the Government of India,—see *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 62, No. 926. But it is given as Ghiyaz-uddin by William Irvine, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXVI, 1907, p. 11. Elsewhere in the *Calendar of Persian Correspondence* the name used is Ghaziuddin.

² *Irvine's Later Mughals*, Vol. II, pp. 56-93.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

upper hand when Abul Mansur Khan Safdar Jung was appointed Wazir after the death of Qamruddin Khan at the battle of Sarhind in 1748.⁴

Mir Shihabuddin controlled the destinies of the empire of Delhi when its death struggle had begun, and he was intimately connected with God's agents for the punishment of Indian sinners, both Hindu and Musalman, such as the Abdali or Durrani Afghans and the Marathas. After the death of Muhammad Shah, the principal nobles at court were Abul Mansur Khan Safdar Jung, the Wazir, and Ghaziuddin II Firoz Jung, who had been confirmed in his father's office of Amir-ul-umara in 1748. From 1741, when the first Nizam-ul-mulk retired finally from the court till his death in 1748, Ghaziuddin II remained his father's deputy at Delhi. He was appointed Amir-ul-umara after the dismissal of Sa'adat Khan, Viceroy of Ajmer, and remained at court till 1751. Caught in the snares of Maratha intrigues and lured to the Deccan with the hope of obtaining the supreme viceroyalty of the six subahs of southern India from his younger brother Salabat Jung, Ghaziuddin II left Delhi, escorted by the Peshwa's principal generals Holkar and Shinde (vulgo, Scindia), and reached Aurangabad only to be poisoned by one of his step-mothers.⁵ At Delhi he had left his son Mir Shihabuddin as his deputy. The court of Delhi was then convulsed by the civil war between the nominal Wazir, Abul Mansur Khan Safdar Jung, and the real Wazir, Nawab Jawid Khan Bahadur, the principal eunuch and the favourite of the queen-mother, Udham Bai. After six months of civil war Abul Mansur Khan retired from court, and after murder of his father Mir Shihabuddin was confirmed in the post of Amir-ul-umara and was created Ghazi-uddin III, Imad-ul-mulk, Firoz Jung. He joined the court party against Abul Mansur Khan and became the commander of the forces sent against the Wazir.⁶ During this civil war Mir Shihabuddin, or Imad-ul-mulk as he is known in history, employed the doubtful expedient of calling in the aid of Malhar Rao Holkar,⁷ the scourge of Indian Musalmans. Malhar Rao arrived in the seat of war after the conclusion of the treaty between the Emperor Ahmad Shah and the late Wazir Abul Mansur Khan. The principal nobles at court were now Intizam-ud-daulah and Imad-ul-mulk. The latter, incensed at the support given to Abul Mansur Khan by the Jaths of Bharatpur, turned his Maratha auxiliaries against them; but his own relation Intizam-ud-daulah, who had been left at

⁴ *Siyar-ul-Mutakharin*, Vol. III, pp. 276-77.

⁵ 13th October, 1752, *Sardesai-Marathi Riyasat*, Vol. II, p. 356.

⁶ *Siyar-ul-Mutakharin*, Vol. III, pp. 332-33.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 335.

Delhi in charge of the Emperor, became suspicious of him when he sent for heavy siege artillery for battering the walls of Dig and Bharatpur and according to his advice the Emperor Ahmad Shah refused to send the guns. Baffled in his attempt to crush the Jaths Imad-ul-mulk returned to Delhi. The foolish Emperor Ahmad Shah was caught in an ambush by the Marathas with his family while out on a hunting expedition near Mathura but fled with the new Wazir Intizam-ud-daulah, leaving the ladies in the hands of the Marathas.⁸ On his return to Delhi Imad-ul-mulk dismissed his cousin Intizam-ud-daulah from the Wazirship, which post he took himself and appointed his friend Samsam-ud-daulah to be the Amir-ul-umara. At noon on the same day he seized the Emperor Ahmad Shah⁹ and his mother, Udham Bai, who were blinded and subsequently murdered.

Supreme in what remained of the Mughal empire Imad-ul-mulk set himself to restore order. He conceived the idea of recovering the Punjab and Sindh from Ahmad Shah Abdali. He had installed on the throne Prince Azizuddin, the second son of the Emperor Muiz-uddin Jahandar Shah, with the title of Alamgir II. The Governments of Lahore and Multan had been bestowed on Muin-ul-mulk, *alias* Mir Mannu, the second son of the late Wazir Qamruddin Khan, by Muhammad Shah.¹⁰ Mir Mannu had been defeated by Ahmad Shah Abdali and forced to cede the Subahs of the Punjab and Sindh to him. In return he was confirmed in these two Governments by Ahmad Shah Abdali and ruled over them till his death in 1754.¹¹ Ahmad Shah then appointed his young son Mir Momin as his successor, who died shortly afterwards. The Sikhs rose on all sides and Musalman Government came to an end in the Punjab, but Mir Mannu's widow managed to subdue her rebellious officers¹² and was confirmed by Ahmad Shah Abdali in the Government of these two provinces. She became a great favourite of the Abdali king and was one of the causes of the sack of Delhi and Mathura by the Afghans in 1755.

Mir Mannu's daughter had been betrothed to Imad-ul-mulk long before and he now sent troops to Mir Mannu's widow to escort his bride to Delhi. But the escort, instead of bringing the bride alone, brought the lady-subahdar also. Lahore and Multan were now occupied easily

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 335-38.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 339.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 262-63.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 326-27.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 342.

and rented to Adina Beg Khan for 30 lakhs of rupees a year.¹³ Mir Mannu's widow contrived to transmit the news to Ahmad Shah Abdali and the latter wasted no time in crossing the Indus. In the meanwhile Najib Khan Rohilla, who had been called to Delhi during Imad-ul-mulk's war with the late Wazir Abul Mansur Khan Safdar Jung, had become the Amir-ul-umara with the title of Najibuddaulah. No attempt was made to defend Delhi or to obstruct the passage of the Abdali troops from Lahore to Delhi. The pathetic story of the second sack of Delhi is very lucidly told in the historical fragment of Ghulam Husain Samin¹⁴ discovered by the late William Irvine. In this book Imad-ul-mulk narrates the state of Delhi and the Mughal empire to an ambassador of Ahmad Khan Bangash, and from this we learn that after bringing Mir Mannu's daughter and widow to Delhi Imad-ul-mulk had married the daughter of Ali Quli Khan by a dancing girl. When Ahmad Shah Abdali approached Delhi, Imad-ul-mulk sent for Nawab Najib Khan and asked him to defend the ford of Shahdara against the Afghans, but the latter demanded two crores of rupees, and on being told that no money was due to him quietly crossed the river Jamuna and appeared before Ahmad Shah Abdali. Imad-ul-mulk had no other alternative left but to throw himself at the mercy of the Abdali king. He was received with bad grace, forced to marry the daughter of Mir Mannu and to send his legally-married first wife, the daughter of Ali Quli Khan, as a prisoner to the Abdali King. Intizam-ud-daulah, who was still alive, received the *sanad* of appointment as Wazir on the promise of paying two crores of rupees, which he could not pay, and Imad-ul-mulk was compelled to become a hanger-on in the Abdali camp during the campaigns of Ahmad Shah Abdali against the Jaths and Jalaluddin Haider Shuja'-ud-daulah, the viceroy of Oudh and Allahabad. Reduced to the extremity of begging for his subsistence in the camp of Ahmad Shah Abdali, Imad-ul-mulk could not forget the hereditary enmity of the Mughals towards the Hindustanis, which began with the treachery of Sa'adat Khan Burhan-ul-mulk of Oudh towards the first Nizam-ul-mulk after the battle of Karnal in 1739, which led to the first sack of Delhi.¹⁵ The Abdali monarch wanted money and Imad-ul-mulk promised large sums to him by conquering Oudh, Allahabad, Bihar and Bengal. He was joined by Ahmad Khan Bangash, Jahan Khan Popalzai and two princes of the imperial family, Hidayat Bakhsh, son of Alam-gir II, and the latter's nephew Mirza Babur. The campaign against

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 347-48.

¹⁴ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXVI, 1907, pp. 13 ff.

¹⁵ *Later Mughals*, Vol. II, pp. 357-8.

Shuja'-ud-daulah did not succeed and Ahmad Shah left India after the sack of Mathura. This was the third Indian expedition of Ahmad Shah Abdali. Hence forward Imad-ul-mulk and Najib Khan Rohilla became rivals and the former had to rely entirely on the Marathas for his very existence at court. His alliance with the Marathas was the cause of the Maratha conquest of Lahore and Multan, and their final overthrow at the third battle of Panipat in 1761.

The retirement of Ahmad Shah Abdali from his third Indian campaign was due to the outbreak of plague in the Jath country,¹⁶ and before his retirement he replaced Imad-ul-mulk as the Wazir.¹⁷ The insignia of the Wazir's office were the golden ink-pot and the pen. The Wazirship of the Mughal empire placed a man immediately below the Emperor in rank. It had been held by clever financiers and astute statesman like Sa'adullah Khan under Shah Jahan I, and Asad Khan under Aurangzeb. Up to 1755 the Wazir's office carried a certain amount of dignity with it. But henceforth the Wazir became one of the rival factions contending for the person of the Emperor. Such a state had been reached, but for a short time only, in the time of Abdullah Khan Qutb-ul-mulk, but under Muhammad Shah the Wazir's office, in spite of the persistent intrigues of the Mughal party under Qamruddin Khan, regained much of its ancient dignity and respectability. The poor Emperor Alamgir II remained in confinement. Imad-ul-mulk had been joined by the Marathas under the Peshwa's younger brother Raghunath Rao and Malhar Rao Holkar.

Najib Khan Amir-ul-umara fled from the capital after bribing the Marathas. Before Imad-ul-mulk and his new allies reached the capital, the poor Emperor considered it prudent to send the heir-apparent out of the city, and therefore prince Ali Gauhar went out to Talkatora near Delhi. Immediately afterwards Imad-ul-mulk compelled the poor Emperor to send an order for the recall of the prince, but the latter was dissuaded from entering the city by a Maratha commander named Vitthal Rao. Later on he entered the city and resided in the palace of Ali Mardan Khan I outside the citadel. An attack upon his house compelled the poor prince to cut his way out and to seek refuge in the territories of Shuja'-ud-daulah of Oudh.¹⁸

Imad-ul-mulk now tried to bring about a breach of peace between the Rohillas and Shuja'-ud-daulah but failed to do so. In 1758 the

¹⁶ *Siyar-ul-Mutakharin*, Vol. III, p. 352.

¹⁷ *Marathi Riyasat*, Vol. III, p. 79.

¹⁸ *Siyar-ul-Mutakharin*, Vol. III, pp. 369-70.

Marathas sent army after army for the conquest of northern India, and Imad-ul-mulk was reduced to insignificance. At one time the Marathas were thinking of selling the Wazirship to Shuja'-ud-daulah for fifty lakhs of rupees.¹⁹ Somehow he recovered his prestige in the Maratha camp, and early in 1759 he murdered his uncle Intizam-ud-daulah,²⁰ his only possible rival for the post of the Wazir. Three days after this event the Emperor was persuaded to visit a faqir near Firoz Shah's Kotla, where he was murdered by Imad-ul-mulk's agent, Mehdi Ali Khan Kashmiri.²¹ In the meanwhile Prince Ali Gauhar had invaded the province of Bihar in the hope of recovering that hereditary appanage of Mughal heir-apparents from the Musalman traitor Nawab Shuja'-ul-mulk Mir Jafar Ali Khan and his English allies, but Imad-ul-mulk was not content to leave him at peace there. He wrote twice²² and compelled the poor Emperor Alamgir II to write to the English Governor of Fort St. William, a few days before his murder, requesting the latter to seize the Prince and send him to Delhi²³ as he had gone to Bihar without orders. Another son of Alamgir II was appointed Viceroy of Bihar, and a letter was written by Imad-ul-mulk to Nawab Shuja'-ul-mulk Mir Jafar Ali²⁴ and the English governor Mr. Vansittart to bring discredit on Prince Ali Gauhar.

The Wazir had now gained what he was seeking, he had become a king-maker like Husain Ali Khan and Abdullah Khan Saiyad. He raised a son of Muhayy-us-sunnat, son of prince Kam Bakhsh, to the throne with the title of Shah Jahan III.²⁵ The near approach of Ahmad Shah Abdali, then on his fourth campaign in India, compelled Imad-ul-mulk to leave Delhi in 1760 and to retire to the security of the fort of Kumher in the territories of Jath Raja Suraj Mull. Immediately before the battle of Panipat the imperial city and the citadel, with the imprisoned princes and princesses, were surrendered to Sadasiv Rao Bhau by the Abdali commander Yakub Ali Khan Bahmanzai,²⁶ and for the first time the Marathas ruled from Delhi. Some Maratha writers say that Sadasiv intended to place Visvas Rao, the eldest son of Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao who was killed after the battle of Panipat, on the

¹⁹ *Marathi Riyasat*, Vol. III, p. 107.

²⁰ *Siyar-ul-Mutakharin*, Eng. Trans., Vol. III, p. 374.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 375.

²² *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 9, No. 125, p. 14, No. 206.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 9, No. 124.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 14, No. 204.

²⁵ Ghulam Husain says that Imad-ul-mulk raised Muhayy-us-sunnat son of Kam Bakhsh to the throne, which is wrong,—*Ibid.*, p. 375.

²⁶ *Siyar-ul-Mutakharin*, Vol. III, p. 384.

throne of Delhi,²⁷ but such dreams were driven out of their swelled heads by their crushing defeat at Panipat. In the meanwhile prince Ali Gauhar had assumed the imperial title at Allahabad. In Delhi the Marathas quietly deposed Shah Jahan III and placed Mirza Jawan Bakht,²⁸ son of Ali Gauhar, now the Emperor Shah Alam II, as the regent on the throne.

Before the departure of the Abdali monarch from India Shuja'-ud-daulah was appointed the Wazir and Najib Khan Rohilla the Amir-ul-umara, but Imad-ul-mulk was left in the lurch. Imad-ul-mulk's earlier advances to the British were made in August, 1761, when he forwarded letters through Behroz Khan.²⁹ After the battle of Buxar he joined Shuja'-ud-daulah of Oudh with a small force, but does not appear to have effected anything of importance.³⁰ His next definite advance to the English was made in a long letter in August, 1765, in which he is called Nizam-ul-mulk Ghaziuddin Khan. In this letter Imad-ul-mulk definitely applied for help for being restored to the Wazirship with the help of the English.³¹ News-letters received from Delhi in February, 1767, report that he had invited Ahmad Khan Bangash to join the Marathas during the fifth expedition of Ahmad Shah Abdali to India.³² He is again mentioned in news-letters as joining or about to join Raghu-nath Rao against Ahmad Shah Abdali.³³ In April of the same year the Jath Raja Jawahir Singh of Bharatpur wrote to Muhammad Riza Khan at Murshidabad offering to make war with Ahmad Shah Abdali, and place Shah Alam II on the throne of Delhi with Ghaziuddin as his Wazir, if the English helped him.³⁴ In the defence of the Jaths at the battle of Gobardhan on the 5th April, 1770, Imad-ul-mulk joined his forces with Prince Jawan Bakht and Najib Khan Rohilla.³⁵ In news-letters received from Raja Shitab Rai, Naib-Nazim of Bihar, in Calcutta in January, 1770, Imad-ul-mulk is said to have invited Nawab Mir Qasim Ali Khan to the south of the Ganges.³⁶ In April, 1770, Shah Alam II informs the officers of the English East India Company

²⁷ *Marathi Riyasat*, Vol. III, p. 154.

Siyar-ul-Mutakharin, Vol. III, p. 386.

²⁹ *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 119, No. 1300.

³⁰ *Marathi Riyasat*, Vol. IV, p. 196.

³¹ *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 426, No. 2692.

³² *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 8, No. 12D.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 10, No. 16A.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 87, No. 296.

³⁵ *Marathi Riyasat*, Vol. IV, p. 212.

³⁶ *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. III, p. 6, No. 31.

that the Marathas have appeared in the vicinity of Agra and have been joined by Imad-ul-mulk.³⁷ The English officers admit the alliance of Imad-ul-mulk and Najib Khan with the Marathas in May.³⁸ Shah Alam II reports the arrival of Imad-ul-mulk in the Maratha camp with great concern in the same month,³⁹ and the report is confirmed by Raja Shitab Rai from Patna.⁴⁰ In June Shah Alam II writes in very strong terms to Najib Khan about the treachery of Imad-ul-mulk.⁴¹ A letter received in Calcutta in November, 1770, from Shuja'-ud-daulah of Oudh reports that Imad-ul-mulk had regained Delhi with the help of the Marathas and intended to place Shah Alam's son Jewan Bakht on the throne.⁴² In a letter from the English East India Company to Shah Alam written in December it is stated that Imad-ul-mulk and the Marathas were at Farrukhabad and Etawa.⁴³ The historian Ghulam Hosain Khan reports on the 15th of the same month that Imad-ul-mulk was trying to bring about a peace between the Rohillas and the Marathas.⁴⁴ The same person reports the conclusion of the treaty in January, 1771, and states that Tukoji Rao Holkar I was the enemy of Ghaziuddin or Imad-ul-mulk and the latter had departed for Ajmer.⁴⁵ A news-letter received in Calcutta on the 12th February, 1771, from Allahabad states that the Marathas were still inclined to favour Imad-ul-mulk if Shah Alam II refused to return to Delhi.⁴⁶ Another news-letter of the same month states that Mahadji Shinde was bent upon recalling Imad-ul-mulk and marching upon Delhi.⁴⁷ Dissensions broke out among the Marathas, and a third news-letter states that Ramchandra Ganesh has decided to dismiss Imad-ul-mulk if he is recalled by Mahadji Shinde.⁴⁸ The intention of Mahadji to place another Mughal prince on the throne of Delhi is expressed in another news-letter of the same month, where Imad-ul-mulk is said to have been accepted as the Wazir and Ahmad Khan Bangash as the Pay-master-general (*Bakhshi*).⁴⁹ In the same month Ghu-

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 53, No. 185.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 58, Nos. 195-6.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71, Nos. 232-33.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 73, No. 244.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 81, No. 271.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 128, No. 473.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 133-35, Nos. 503-4.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 136, No. 505.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 152-3, No. 571.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 161, No. 605.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 162, No. 607.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 164, No. 614.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 166-67, No. 625.

lam Hosain Khan sends the alarming intelligence of a settlement between the Maratha commander Ramchandra Ganesh and Imad-ul-mulk.⁵⁰

The intrigues of the English East India Company to keep the nominal Emperor Shah Alam II at Allahabad and the counter-intrigues of the Marathas to bring his person into their own possession ended in the earlier part of 1771. The death of Najib Khan and the capture of Delhi by the Marathas compelled Shah Alam II to leave Allahabad with an army headed by Shuja-ud-daulah's son. The Marathas delivered the fort of Delhi to the Empire on the 12th August and Shah Alam II arrived at the capital in September. Imad-ul-mulk could not bring himself to trust Shah Alam II, whom he had hounded out of his father's palace and capital and whose father he had murdered. He retired once more to the Jath country. News-writers continued to send alarming reports of his movements for several years after his final departure from Delhi. A news-letter of May, 1773, reports, that he was combining with the Sikhs and the Jaths.⁵¹ In July, 1774, Colonel Champion heard that Shah Alam II was in alliance with Mir Qasim Ali Khan, the former Subahdar of Bengal, and Imad-ul-mulk.⁵² In August of the same year Shuja'-ud-daulah reported to the English at Calcutta that Shah Alam II had sent for Imad-ul-mulk and Mir Qasim Ali and bestowed robes of honour (*Khil'ats*) on them.⁵³ In November, 1775, Shah Alam II complains to Warren Hastings that the latter had invited Imad-ul-mulk to Calcutta,⁵⁴ which the latter denied.⁵⁵

After the arrival of Shah Alam II at Delhi Imad-ul-mulk found refuge with the Marathas. He could not bring himself to trust either the English East India Company or his uncle Nizam Ali Nizam-ul-mulk Asaf Jah II of Haidarabad. The Peshwa Madhav Rao I had great regard for him and before his death gave a jagir worth two lakhs of rupees to Imad-ul-mulk. But the latter could not take possession of it and in December, 1772, he came to Poona to meet the Peshwa with about 250 attendant nobles. The Peshwa Narayan Rao came to pay a visit to him at his residence in Poona and gave him leave to depart after two months, on the 6th March, 1773.⁵⁶ Imad-ul-mulk now determined to leave politics and retire to Mecca. He reached Surat in 1779,

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 161, No. 626.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 65, No. 336.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 206, No. 1152.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 218, No. 1205.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 355, No. 2034.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 362, No. 2069.

⁵⁶ *Marathi Riyasat*, Vol. IV, p. 306.

and met General Goddard in that year. A pension was granted to him and he lived for some time at Surat.⁵⁷ Nothing further is known about Mir Shihabuddin, Imad-ul-mulk. Sardesai notes in his genealogy of the Nizam-ul-mulks of the Deccan that he was at Surat till 1790, and was sent to Mecca by the Governor-General of British India, where he died.⁵⁸

This in short is the history of the remarkable career of Mir Shihabuddin. Nobody can defend his murders of his own uncle Intizam-ud-daulah or of the two Emperors Ahmad Shah and Alamgir II, but in all other respects he was far in advance of all other Musalman statesmen and rulers of the second-half of the 18th century. Among the Musalman generals and statesmen of this period he alone realised that the safety of the Mughal empire lay in a firm alliance with the Marathas and in opposing the Durranis. In this respect he emulated Saiyad Husain Ali Khan, who was the first Musalman general to bring a Maratha contingent with him to help him in his projects when he brought the first Peshwa of the Bhatt family, Balaji Vishwanath Bhatt, to Delhi to dethrone the Emperor Farrukshiyar.⁵⁹ His pro-Maratha policy was immensely disliked by all Hindustanis, and in order to counteract it the leader of that party, Shuja'-ud-daulah of Oudh, had to sell himself to the British. The results of a British alliance with an Indian State became apparent in the State of Oudh even before the retirement of Imad-ul-mulk from Delhi. In 1768 the English East India Company practically disarmed Shuja'-ud-daulah and compelled him to disband most of his efficient troops.⁶⁰ This was the first step towards the annexation of Allahabad, Cawnpore and Rohilkhand. The short-sighted policy of Deccani Brahman statesmen, which led to the first coalition against Tipu Sultan in 1790 and the defeat of Nizam Ali Nizam-ul-mulk Asaf Jah II at Kharda in 1795, threw the Nizam at the mercy of the English and was the cause of his spoliation in 1800 and 1853, as well as the destruction of the Peshwa's kingdom in 1818. The extremely short-sighted policy of the Hindustani party in northern India led them to think that Ahmad Shah Abdali would save them from the Marathas. The mistakes of Shuja'-ud-daulah and Najib Khan Najib-ud-daulah became apparent when the Rohilla country was conquered by Shuja'-ud-daulah, and in the defeats of Ahmad Shah Abdali by the Sikhs in 1767. Towards the close of the century, when Mahadji Shinde and

⁵⁷ *Siyar-ul-Mukakharin*, Völ. III, p. 115.

⁵⁸ *Marathi Riyasat*, Vol. II, p. 328.

⁵⁹ *Later Mughals*, Vol. I, p. 359.

⁶⁰ *Calendar of Persian Records*, Vol. III, p. XVIII.

Jaswant Rao Holkar practically conquered north-western and central India, the position of the nominal Nawab-Wazir had become extremely miserable. The ease with which Sa'adat Ali and Wajid Ali were deprived of their territories shows that it would have been far more honourable for north-Indian Musalmans to have laid down their lives in their struggles with the Marathas than to have maintained a precarious existence under the thralldom of the English East India Company.

By his management of the Marathas and the affairs of the empire during his tenure of office as Wazir, Imad-ul-mulk showed that among Musalmans of 18th century he alone had grasped the political situation correctly. The intense hatred of Hindustani Musalmans for the Mughals is apparent even now in almost every page of Ghulam Husain's history in which he refers to Mir Shihabuddin or his grandfather Nizam-ul-mulk Asaf Jah I. This enmity between the two parties at the Mughal court was the real cause of its downfall. Could Shuja'ud-daulah have foreseen the results of any alliance with the English then he would have joined Imad-ul-mulk instead of throwing himself at the mercy of the English. With the examples of Shuja'-ul-mulk Mir Jafar Ali Khan and Mir Qasim Ali Khan of Bengal and the absorption of the Subahs of Bengal and Bihar into the territories of the Honourable East India Company by Warren Hastings before them, Indian Musalman rulers and statesmen should have avoided such contact. The dread in which Imad-ul-mulk was held by the officers of the East India Company and their allies prove that the former estimated the capabilities and the character of the last great Wazir of the Mughal empire very correctly. Blinded by their effete jealousy and insane dread of Maratha power no Musalman ruler could bring himself to join Imad-ul-mulk and his pro-Maratha policy and by this act they hastened their own ruin.

R. D. BANERJI.

SOME PRINCIPALS OF THE CALCUTTA MADRASAH IN BY-GONE DAYS.

I. ALOYS SPRENGER, M.D., 1850 TO 1857.

The son of Christopher Sprenger, a native of the Tyrol, Aloys Sprenger was born on the 3rd September, 1813. He received his early education at Innsbruck; then he studied at Vienna—where he learnt Hebrew and Arabic—and finally at Paris. In 1838 he was naturalised in England. In 1841 he graduated in medicine at the University of Leyden, and entering the medical service of the Hon'ble East India Company, he arrived in Calcutta in September of 1843.

In the years immediately preceding, English had been introduced as an "added subject" in the Oriental Colleges, and so there was increased need for these Institutions to be brought under the guidance of European scholars, inasmuch as the General Committee of Public Instruction had been abolished, and the General Committee of the Government of India had assumed control of State-maintained educational establishments outside the Presidency of Bengal. A European Principal accordingly was urgently in demand at the Muhammadan College at Delhi, and the selection of Government fell on Dr. Sprenger. He assumed his new duties in 1844, and continued as Principal of the College till 1847. His enthusiasm spread to professors and students alike; and under him the College entered upon a period of intellectual activity so encouraging that he embarked upon the publication of a weekly vernacular periodical—the first journal in India printed in Urdu.

In 1847 an Assistant Resident was wanted at Lucknow, and the Government of India deputed Dr. Sprenger to fill that important and delicate position. His reputation as an Arabic and Persian scholar had been made, and Lord Hardinge requested him to improve the opportunity by cataloguing the manuscripts in the library of the King of Oudh. To this arduous work he devoted eighteen months, and compiled a list of 10,000 books in Arabic, Persian, Pashtu and Hindustani. In Urdu Poetry alone he listed no less than 1,400 authors. His catalogue was not, however, a dry roll-call of writers and their books. While recording the title of each book, he added a concise notice of

its contents, and a brief account of its composer. Of more than passing interest is his reference to Omar Khayyam, an edition of whose poems was soon to issue in Paris¹.

It would appear that from Lucknow Dr. Sprenger reverted to the Principalship of the Delhi College, from where in 1850 he was transferred to the Calcutta Madrasah, to be Principal of that Institution as well as of the Mohammadan College at Hooghly. His incumbency at the Calcutta Madrasah was marked by the introduction of reforms in the courses of studies in that institution, at a time when the Presidency College was established on the nucleus of the old Hindu College, and when the Local Government deplored "the continued failure of our efforts to impart a high order of English education to the Mohammadan community."

During his residency in Calcutta, Dr. Sprenger was Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and his knowledge of twenty-five languages² made him a much-valued acquisition in the field of philology. To his other duties he added those of Persian Translator to Government from 1851 to 1854. He continued to be Principal of the Calcutta Madrasah till 1857—the year of the Sepoy Mutiny—when he retired from service in India. Settling at Heidelberg, he became Professor of Oriental Languages at Berne. He died at Heidelberg on the 19th December, 1893.

Chief Literary Works. *A Geography of Ancient Arabia*; an edition of the *Gulistan*; *History of Mahmud of Ghazni*; *Selections from Arabic Authors*; *English—Hindustani Grammar*; *Life of Mohammad from original sources* (incomplete); *Dictionary of Arabic Technical Terms in the Bibliotheca Indica*³.

II. WILLIAM NASSAU LEES, 1857 TO 1870.

William Nassau Lees—regarding whom but scanty information has been gleaned—was the son of Sir Harcourt Lees, Baronet, and was born on the 26th of February, 1825. He received his education at Nut Grove, and then at Trinity College, Dublin. In 1846 he joined the 42nd Bengal Native Infantry.

¹ *L' Algebre d'Omar al Khayyam traduite et accompagnée d'extraits de MSS. inédits en Arabe.* 1851.

² This on the authority of Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*.

³ Dr. Sprenger saw 717 pages of this work through the press. Dr. Nassau Lees supervised the printing of the remaining 540 pages.

He was, like so many men who in his days came out to India, as much soldier as scholar. For several years he was Secretary to the Board of Examiners, Fort William, and Persian Translator to Government. From 1857 to 1870 he was Principal of the Calcutta Madrasah. He contributed many papers to the Journals of the Royal Asiatic Society and of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In recognition of his deep scholarship in Arabic, Persian and Urdu, in which languages he edited a considerable number of books, he had the degree of Doctor of Laws conferred upon him by the University of Dublin, and later on he was created a Doctor of Philosophy, Berlin. He was part-proprietor of the *Times of India*. He retired to England in 1857, and died there on the 9th of March, 1889, with the rank of Major-General.

Nassau Lees is entitled to the never-failing gratitude of Mohamadans for having won Henry Blochmann from obscurity and given him a footing in the Calcutta Madrasah.

III. HENRY FERDINAND BLOCHMANN, M.A., 1870 TO 1878.

Henry Ferdinand Blochmann, the son of a humble printer, was born at Dresden on the 7th January, 1838. He received his early education in his native city, and completed his studies at Leipzig (1855-1857) and Paris. At the former place he learnt Hebrew and Arabic under Professor Fleischer, and became enamoured of the East. Some hear the call of the sea; others the call of the everlasting hills. Blochmann felt India beckon him, and he could not resist his intense longing to go to that ancient land—there to dig in its mines of classic learning. But how he was to reach the shores of India was not at all clear to him. He had no money, and then too the country was in the throes of the Sepoy Mutiny. An idea came to him. He waited no longer, but taking his fortune in his hand he enlisted as a private in a British Regiment which was due for India. Accordingly he set foot in Calcutta in September, 1858—an obscure soldier on a few shillings a week!

As might have been expected, he spent most of his leisure hours in the garrison library—the only collection of books accessible to him. His studious habits in due course attracted the attention of his officers, who appointed him Librarian. The shelves amidst which he had hitherto spent his time when off duty, now became his own charge, and he applied himself more than ever to increase his knowledge of books. Among the frequenters of the Library was William Nassau Lees, Captain in the 42nd Bengal Native Infantry, Principal of the

Calcutta Madrasah, Translator to the Government, and Secretary to the Board of Examiners, Fort William. The story goes that Captain Lees had often noticed Private Blochmann reading in the Library, and one day, unable to resist the temptation to satisfy his curiosity in the man, he kindly bent over the soldier's shoulder, to see what it was that he was reading. It was an Arabic book. A few enquiries, and a strange discovery—here was a Hebrew, Arabic, and Persian scholar in the uniform of a private. Lees instantly became Blochmann's friend and patron. He helped him to buy himself out of the army, and obtained for him the position of Translator to the P. and O. Company. In 1860 he brought his protégé on to the teaching staff of the Madrasah as Assistant Professor of Persian and Urdu. In the following year Mr. Blochmann bettered himself by moving into Dove-ton College as Professor of Mathematics, an appointment which he retained till 1865. During the intervening years he applied himself with unremitting industry to his higher studies, and took the degree of Master of Arts in Hebrew. It is related that the University authorities had some difficulty in finding competent examiners, and those that were appointed declared that Mr. Blochmann knew more of the language than they did themselves.

Having now established his qualifications for educational work, Mr. Blochmann returned to the Madrasah in his old capacity, with Captain Nassau Lees as Principal. When the latter retired in 1869, no successor was appointed, but an arrangement was come to by which a Committee of Mohammadan gentlemen exercised control over the Institution generally, while Mr. Blochmann guided the studies of the various classes. The experiment however broke down, and in 1870 Mr. Blochmann, henceforth usually known as Professor Blochmann, was formally appointed Principal of the Madrasah—a position which he adorned till his death.

When Professor Blochmann assumed the duties of Principal, the Government deemed it necessary for the improvement of the unsatisfactory condition into which the Institution had lapsed, that he should reside on the premises, and the house now occupied by the Moslem Institute was assigned to him. Sir William Hunter tells us that the Mohammadan community so resented this innovation that Professor Blochmann "had to be smuggled into his quarters at night." But within a few months the Mohammadan public endorsed the action of Government, for Blochmann's personality and amiability broke down all opposition. Indeed, he won the hearts of his pupils and of their guardians to an extent that was truly wonderful. In this his deep

erudition in Arabic materially assisted, for he lectured to the senior classes on Arabic Literature, Rhetoric, and Philosophy. Never within the walls of the College had such scholarship and eloquence been known. Every day added to his unprecedented popularity. Among his most intimate friends and admirers were Nawab Sir Khwaja Abdul Ghani Mia, K.C.S.I.; Nawab Sir Khwaja Ahsanulla Bahadur, K.C.I.E.; Nawab Abdul Latif Bahadur, C.I.E.; Syed Azimuddin Hossein, Khan Bahadur; Nawab Amir Ali, Khan Bahadur; Nawab Syed Amir Hossain; Nawab Sirajul Islam; Nawab Abdul Jabbar, and many others. In short, the Government relied upon his advice in all matters relating to Mohamadans in Bengal, who in their turn placed implicit confidence in him as one whom they loved for his goodness, and respected for his profound knowledge of their social customs and religious beliefs.

In July, 1878 Professor Blochmann was taken ill, and a change to the hills was advised. He therefore made ready to proceed to Dalhousie, but delayed his departure in order that he might give final help to certain students for their examination. The delay proved fatal. On the day fixed for his departure from Calcutta, his illness suddenly took a serious turn. On the next day he became unconscious, and passed away by evening. He died on the 13th July, 1878, in the house now the home of the Moslem Institute—a thought that should consecrate the activities of its members when they foregather in Blochmann's Hall for their mutual improvement and encouragement.

In Calcutta there was a spontaneous and widespread sorrow when it was known that Blochmann Sahib Bahadur was dead. The newspapers paid tribute to his worth, work, and memory, "Calcutta has been suddenly bereaved", said a correspondent of the *Indian Mirror*, "of a true scholar and a good man. The place from which death has snatched Professor Blochmann will not easily be filled. . . The Asiatic Society, of which he was Secretary, and for many years an indefatigable and prominent member, will probably transfer to their shelves the larger part of his philological treasure; but it will take years to supply his place among us as a teacher and man of letters. Nor is it every man who has the genius to be loved. There is not often a more touching sight than was the pressure of the Madrasah College students into the large parlour where the body of their dear teacher lay in death. Both on Friday evening and Saturday morning, they streamed in and out for a last look on the face of their preceptor, as if unconscious of the presence of European mourners, of both sexes, who stood round the coffin. And well might they come, and keep coming with looks of sorrow and dismay—unable to realise that they would see his face no

more. . . . His devotion to his pupils both in the class room and in their self-formed societies for mutual culture and improvement, was exemplary. . . . No will was readier than his in the service of all about him. . . . He is gone at early noon of his manly and scholarly career; and such as have been privileged to enjoy his conversation and refined companionship, will bear it in memory for years to come. And not least among those who mourn his unreturning absence, will be the pupils whom he gathered daily about him, and who in goodly numbers followed him to his grave."

On the 3rd August, 1878 a meeting was held at the Madrasah under the auspices of the Madrasah Literary Club⁴, to consider the best means of perpetuating the memory of Professor Blochmann. The Hon'ble Syed Amir Ali presided over the meeting, and reminded his hearers that the name of the late Professor had become a household world in the homes of Mohammadans, not only on account of the character which he bore, but also because of the manner in which he had persevered to ameliorate the condition of Mohammadans, and of the devotion with which he had always espoused their cause. A Memorial Committee was appointed to collect funds for the founding of one or more scholarships to be called after Professor Blochmann, and to be conferred on poor but deserving students in the Madrasah⁵.

Professor Blochmann's studies embraced a wide range of Arabic and Persian Literature. On all subjects relating to Mohammadan India the extent and accuracy of his knowledge was unrivalled. He made the History of India under Mohammadan Rulers his especial field of research. He contributed many articles to the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, of which learned body he was for a series of years Philological Secretary. His most important literary work was a Translation of Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari*, of which he lived to complete only Part I. Part II was in later years rendered into English by Colonel Jarrett.

The Library of the Calcutta Madrasah possesses a portrait of Professor Blochmann, of whom the Asiatic Society has several photographs in its Album of Celebrities. In the Hall of the same Society there is a marble bust inscribed "HENRY BLOCHMANN" from the chisel of E. R. Mullins. His name has been perpetuated in Blochmann Lane in the vicinity of the Madrasah, and opposite the site of the

⁴ Did this Club mature into the Mohammadan Literary Society?

⁵ Were any such scholarships founded?

Islamia College, which institution was opened as a First Grade Arts College for Mohammadans in 1926. A few years ago a proposal was before the Municipal Commissioners to give Blochmann Lane another name, but the protests of the Mohammadan Community, which happily prevailed, afford recent testimony to the affectionate regard which his old pupils still have for their beloved teacher—HENRY BLOCHMANN.

HERBERT A. STARK.

GORGIN KHAN.

THE ARMENIAN COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF AND MINISTER OF

NAWAB MIR KASIM OF BENGAL

FROM

1760-1763.

In the paper which I read in December, 1926 at the Lucknow Session of the "Indian Historical Records Commission" on "Hindoos in Armenia 150 years before Christ," I stated that Armenians had been connected with India from the days of remote antiquity.

As the first foreign traders they were well-known in India from the Punjab and Cashmere to the banks of the Ganges, having penetrated into the country by the old overland route, through Persia and Afghanistan. They had come by the same route through which the remote ancestors of the Hindoos, the fair Aryans, had migrated into India, most probably from the highlands of Armenia. Be that as it may, as this is not the place to discuss the thorny question of the ancestral home of the Indian Aryans, suffice it to say that the mountains and the rivers mentioned in that great epic the Mahabhratha have great affinity with the majestic mountains and the great rivers of ancient Armenia.

In my Paper on "Hindoos in Armenia" I narrated the history of two fugitive Hindoo princes from Kanauj who found an asylum in far-off Armenia in the year 149 B.C., from which it is evident that there was a friendly intercourse between Hindoos and Armenians 2,000 years ago, hence the flight of the two Indian princes to Armenia and not to any of the neighbouring countries, such as Ceylon, Burma or Siam.

For twenty centuries and more Armenians have been connected with India as a commercial people and have through their integrity achieved success in the domain of trade and commerce during the Hindoo, Mohammedan and British periods. Although a purely commercial community, yet when an opportunity has presented itself they have shown themselves to be more than ordinary merchants and traders.

¹ A Paper read at the Tenth Meeting of the "Indian Historical Records Commission" held at Rangoon on 7th December, 1927.

During the reign of Akbar, who was a great patron of the Armenians, the son of an Armenian merchant of Cashmere, Mirza Zul-Qarnain, or Alexander, by name, rose to be a grandee of the Mogul Court through sheer merit, and continued to enjoy that high privilege and distinction during the reigns of Jehangeer and Shah Jehan, and despite the blandishments of Akbar, the persuasions of Jehangeer and the persecutions of Shah Jehan, the Armenian grandee remained firm and steadfast in the faith of his forefathers and lived and died a good Christian, a staunch friend and a patron of the good Jesuit Fathers at Akbar's Court who wrote of him as "the pillar of Christianity in India." The Chief Justice, Mir Adl, of Akbar's Court was likewise an Armenian, Abdool Hai by name.

An eminent Armenian merchant of Bengal, Khojah Israel Sarhad, rose to be a diplomat and an envoy and was instrumental in securing the "Grand Farman" for the English East India Company from the Mogul Emperor Farrokhsiyar in 1715. Another well-known Armenian merchant of Calcutta, Khojah Petrus, better known as the "Armenian Petrus," rendered yeoman service to the British cause in Bengal after the tragedy of the "Black Hole" and acted as an envoy between the English and Mir Jaffir for the overthrow of Nawab Siraj-ud-dowlah, and was equally successful afterwards in the removal of the imbecile Nawab Mir Jaffir from the Masnad of Murshidabad and in the appointment of Mir Kasim, in 1760, as the Nawab Nazim of Bengal, Behar and Orissa.

Since the days of Akbar, who reigned from 1556-1605, up to the middle of the 18th century, or a period of 200 years, the Armenians in India, apart from being eminent merchants, had given a Chief Justice, and a grandee to the Mogul Court, and an envoy to the British, but they had not yet distinguished themselves in the military service of the country of their adoption. Yet when the psychological moment arrived, a humble Armenian cloth-seller of Hooghly, Khojah Gregory by name, a younger brother of the "Armenian Petrus" referred to above, laid down the iron yard measure and took up a gun in the same way that Clive, a humble writer on the Madras Establishment, had exchanged his quill for a sword and with what wonderful results!

Khojah Gregory², better known by his orientalized name of "Gorgin Khan," was a cloth-merchant at Hooghly and for championing the cause of Mir Kasim he became his confidant, and when Mir Kasim ascended the Masnad of Murshidabad in place of his father-in-law,

² He had two brothers in India, both of whom were well-known merchants in Calcutta. He had also a nephew who was an officer in the Army which he had raised for the Nawab,

Nawab Mir Jaffir, in 1760, he immediately appointed Gorgin Khan as the Commander-in-Chief of the Bengal Army. The limited time at my disposal will not permit me to record in the course of this Paper the achievements of that great Armenian soldier, who for three years was the virtual ruler of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, and who had he not fallen a victim to the sword of an unknown assassin would in time have become the Nawab of Bengal with the help of the Army at his command. Had his useful life been spared he would have done what those two soldiers of fortune, Kemal Pasha and Reza Khan, did in Turkey and Persia in our own days.

Unfortunately very little is known of this remarkable military genius, the erstwhile cloth-seller of Hooghly, for the Mohammedan historians of the time have, through racial jealousy and religious antipathy, painted him black by calling him a "traitor" and "the evil genius of Mir Kasim." Amongst the English historians, Marshman, who is regarded as the best authority on Indian history of that period, writes of Gorgin Khan as follows:

"Meer Caseem met the difficulties of his position with great energy. He curtailed the extravagance of the court establishments. He abolished the "Ram Office", the "Antelope Office", the "Nightingale Office", and many other useless and costly appendages of the menagerie department. He subjected the public accounts to a severe scrutiny, and obliged the officers to disgorge the plunder they had acquired. He exacted all arrears of rent with unexampled rigour, revised the assessment of the land, and made an addition of a crore of rupees to the annual revenue of the three provinces. These measures gave him the means of discharging all the obligations he had contracted to the English, after which he gave his entire attention to the great object of emancipating himself from the pressure of their authority, and restoring freedom to the Soobah. He removed the seat of Government to Monghir, a distance of 320 miles from Calcutta, where, free from observations, he prosecuted his plans of independence with such earnestness that, in less than three years, he considered himself in a position to set their power at defiance. For this rapid progress he was mainly indebted to the exertions of an Armenian, born at Ispahan, generally known by his orientalised name of Gurghin Khan. He was originally a cloth-seller at Hooghly but when entrusted with the responsibilities of office, turned out to be a man of original genius and vast resources. In less than three years he created a force of 15,000 cavalry and 25,000 infantry, disciplined on the modes of the company's army, he manufactured firelocks, which were superior to the Tower-proof muskets, he established

a foundry for casting cannon, and trained up a crops of artillerymen who would have done credit to the Company's Service. Nothing was wanting to render Meer Cassim more powerful than Ali Verdy Khan had ever been but a few years of undisturbed leisure."

Holwell of Calcutta "Black Hole" fame, writes of Gorgin Khan as follows:—

"Khojah Gregory is in the highest degree of favour with the Nawab [Meer Kassim] and his adherents, and has posts of the greatest trust near the Nawab's person, and through him the Armenians in general are setting up an independent footing in this country and carrying on a trade greatly detrimental to our investments in all parts."

An Armenian contemporary writes, Thomas Khojamall, who lies buried at the old Armenian cemetery at Agra, where he died in 1780, speaks of Gorgin Khan in terms of the highest praise, but as the encomiums bestowed upon my hero come from an Armenian, I shall for obvious reasons refrain from quoting from Khojamall's writings lest my critics should say that I have got an Armenian to sing the praises of another Armenian. I intend however to incorporate Khojamall's account of Gorgin Khan and his Armenian generals in my "Life of Gorgin Khan", which will be a contribution to the history of Bengal from 1760-1763.

I must in passing not omit to refer to the interesting account of him given by the well-known Bengalee novelist, Bunkim Chandra Chatterjee, in his historical romance called "Chandrashekhar", of which an English translation was published by Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., in 1905.

Alas for human greatness and ambition! The phenomenal administrative success and advancement of Nawab Mir Kasim and the meteoric rise of his Chief Minister and Commander-in-Chief to power and prominence did not last long, since every rapid success is invariably followed by a rapid fall. The fall was however, precipitated by the English, for according to Marshman, "the unprincipled conduct of the Council Board in Calcutta", which eventually deprived Mir Kasim of his throne, brought on a rupture between him and the English, which resulted in several battles that were fought between the two armies. The last of these well-contested battles was fought at a place called Gheriah, on the 2nd day of August, 1763, regarding which Marshman writes:—

"The battle lasted four hours, and in the opinion of Clive, never did troops fight better than those of the Nabob. At one period of the action, indeed, they penetrated the English lines and captured two guns,

and victory appeared for a time likely to incline to them, but the gallantry of the Europeans and the steadiness of the sepoy's bore down all opposition, and the Nabob's troops were constrained to abandon all their guns and stores and retreat to Oodwanulla."

A week after the memorable battle of Gheriah Gorgin Khan met his death at the hands of an unknown assassin, who it is said had been instigated by the Nawab Mir Kasim. Marshman in his "History of Bengal" gives the following version of the tragic event. "It came out that in the evening three or four Moghuls had entered his tent and slain him. It was given out that they had gone to the Commander to ask for their arrears of pay, but he had ordered them to be driven away, on which they drew their swords and murdered him. The fact was that no pay was then due to them, they had been paid nine days previously. At all events, this seems in a manner certain that Kasim Ali [Mir Kasim] had treacherously sent them to kill his Commander-in-Chief Gurgin Khan. A brother of the latter, named Khojah Petrus [the Armenian Petrus of Clive], resided in Calcutta and was on terms of great friendship with Messrs. Vansittart and Hastings. He had secretly written a letter to Gurgin Khan, urging him to quit the Nawab's service, and if he had a good opportunity to make him a prisoner. The Nawab's chief spy got intimation of this, and went at one o'clock at night to his master, and put him on his guard, by informing him that his Commander-in-Chief was a traitor. Within twenty-four hours of that time the Armenian General, Gurgin Khan, one of the greatest men of the age, was a corpse."

There is no evidence that Gorgin Khan had ever intrigued with his brother in Calcutta; on the contrary, his extraordinary talents in military matters had been wholly devoted to Nawab Mir Kasim's cause, and not even the fraternal affection that he had for his brother Petrus, who was in such high favour with the opposing forces, could have seduced him from his unswerving loyalty to the Nawab. Thomas Khojamall, the Armenian contemporary writer already referred to, says that when the English secretly wrote and asked him to make a prisoner of the Nawab, for which he would be handsomely rewarded, he replied:—

"I was a humble individual, Kasim Ali Khan trusted and raised me to this high post of honour, I cannot therefore comply with your request. Far from it that I should betray my master, particularly as it is a distinct national characteristic of the Armenians never to betray their masters, but serve them faithfully and remain loyal to them always."

A man remarkable for his genius and foresight Gorgin Khan played a prominent part in the history of those times, and would probably have distinguished himself more in the early days of the British conquest of Bengal had he not fallen a prey to the sword of an assassin, which sad event prematurely closed his illustrious career on Monday, 11th August, 1763.

He was a pious Christian and sent for an Armenian priest to whom he humbly confessed his sins and received the Blessed Sacrament at his hands with great faith and devotion before he expired. His body was removed from the camp with great solemnity and honour and was buried in the village of Brae, where the renegade Sumru, one of the generals of Gorgin Khan, had encamped with his regiment.

Gorgin Khan had gathered round him about one hundred brave Armenians from various places, some of whom he appointed as officers over the army of which he had the full command.

Major Adams, who defeated the Nawab's troops at the memorable battle of Oodwanulla, writing to Governor Vansittart on the 3rd October, 1763, says:—

“ We had a report yesterday that Coja Gregore [Gorgin Khan] had been wounded some days ago by a party of his Mogul cavalry who mutinied for want of their pay between Sooage Gurree and Nabob Gunge. It is just now confirmed by a Hircarra arrived from the enemy with this addition that he died the next day and that forty principal people concerned were put to death upon the occasion, though it was imagined that the Mogals were induced to affront and assault Coja Gregore by Cassim Ali Cawn who began to be very jealous of him on account of his good behaviour to the English. If this should prove true, Coja Petruce can be of no further service to us. I therefore would recommend sending him down to Calcutta, but shall wait the directions of the Board on that head.

I must confess this piece of news gives me some concern as by all accounts he behaved very well to our gentlemen. And it was that only that occasioned him to fall under Cassim Aly Cawn's displeasure. Had he lived, he might probably have assisted in effecting their escape, as we hear he frequently was the means of saving their lives as well as the Setts and other prisoners.”

As there are various accounts of the murder of Gorgin Khan, I shall now give a detailed account of the assassination as narrated by a Frenchman, Monsieur John Baptiste Joseph Gentil, a personal friend of the Armenian General and an eye-witness of the tragedy. The account is to be found on pp. 217-235 of Gentil's “ *Memoires sur l'*

Indoustan, ou Empire Mogol", published at Paris in 1822. For the English translation of the extract I am indebted to my esteemed friend, Father H. Hosten, S.J., of St. Joseph's College, Darjeeling.

Mr. Gentil who was an officer under Gorgin Khan pays the highest tribute to the memory of his friend and expresses the highest admiration of the character of his master, and it is the best account I have yet seen coming from a non-Armenian—after what the Mohammedan, Indian and English historians have said of my hero.

Here is Monsieur Gentil's unbiassed account of Gorgin Khan translated from the original French:

"After the capture of Rajmahal, Qasim Ali Khan wrote from his camp to the English general, i.e., Major Thomas Adams, to the effect that if he [Adams] advanced any further, he would swear upon the Quran that he would have all the English prisoners in his control killed.

Major Adams, regarding this threat as merely a scheme conceived in his weakness by the Nawab to prevent him advancing, continued his march. The Nawab turned back to Monghyr, had all his treasure and baggage sent off to Patna, and started for that city himself.

On the road to Patna the Jagat Seth brothers sent word begging of me to intercede for them with Gurgin Khan. But this latter Officer made me promise not to persist in pleading for them, not only because I could never be successful, but also because by such a step I would find myself involved in their disgrace, there being no possibility of getting them pardoned.

On the way the enemies of the Nawab persuaded him that Gorgin Khan was betraying him. From that moment the Prince vowed he would put an end to that faithful minister, whom calumny had painted as a traitor. Gorgin Khan was not unaware of this detestable design. I was always encamped close to this Minister, and used to have my meals with him. One day when he was late in coming to dinner, the various dishes that used to be brought each day from the Nawab's camp had been laid out in front of me, and I had commenced to partake of them. Just then the Minister arrived and forbade me to eat any more, saying: "What are you doing? What! do you not know that you might be poisoned! How imprudent you are, after you have learnt what has been said about me and my brother! I have enemies. Be suspicious of everything." He had the dishes removed forthwith, and had others served up, prepared by hands he did not distrust.

Half-way between Monghyr and Patna, an attempt was made to assassinate him; but as I had had my bed placed in front of his tent

and by the side of the sentinel, in the open air, solely on account of the great heat, the assassins, thinking their design had been discovered, postponed its execution till the following day.

Next day—a day on which the army had marched—arriving later than usual in consequence of the bad roads, the Minister had dinner served up immediately. After our meal, the heat being excessive, he said to me. “Let us go over to my Bakhshi’s (paymaster’s) tent; perhaps it will be cooler there.” When he arrived there, not finding it any more comfortable, he decided to go back again to his own quarters. As he was passing through the camp of his Mughal cavalry, when he was in the midst of the horses, a trooper approached and asked him for some money, complaining that, in spite of his pay which he had just received, he had not enough to live upon, having regard to the dearness of provisions. Gorgin Khan, incensed at the demand, called one of his attendants in a loud voice. The trooper withdrew. When he had been talking of other matters, overcome by the heat and anxious to get under shelter, I left him. I had hardly gone thirty steps when I heard shouts for help from three men who had remained with the Minister. Turning round at once I saw the same trooper striking Gorgin Khan with his sword. The men with him were without arms, and dressed in muslin, as was the Minister himself. No assistance could be rendered as three strokes had been inflicted as quick as lightning; the first cut nearly half-way through his neck, the second cleft his shoulder-bone, and the third cut open his loins. The assassin struck him again in the face when he fell down tripped up by the long tethering ropes of the horses, over which he had sought to pass to reach his tent, fifty paces away. As he was dressed in muslin, the force with which the sword cut can be imagined. The trooper had scarcely struck him when he disappeared. Running up I helped to place the Minister in his palanquin, and had him carried to his tent. As he made a sign that he wanted a drink, he was given some water, but it came out again through the wound in his neck.

Seeing me by his side Gorgin Khan fixed his gaze upon me, and made a sign with his hand, being no longer able to speak, striking his thigh with it three times, giving me to understand that he had been the victim of calumny, and that I should be very careful about myself.

While the friends and servants of the Minister were tending him with all care the Mughal trooper, joined by his comrades, threatened to come and massacre the Armenians who were attached to Gorgin Khan’s service. Warned by his secretary (who came and snatched me from the arms of my dying friend) of the danger we were exposed to, I

insisted on the Armenian commanders, who ran the same risks, placing strong guards at the four corners of the tent in which the Minister was being tended. They had scarcely followed my advice when the Mughals trained a piece of cannon upon the tent, where all were mourning the deplorable end of Gorgin Khan. The Armenians having discovered this, I made them forestall the gunner, who was on the point of putting a light to the gun, by shooting him. This they did, the gunner was killed, and the terrified Mughals dispersed and did not show themselves again. Mounting a horse as soon as ever my unfortunate friend had breathed his last, I rode straight to the Nawab's camp, where all were under arms. Each of the commanders was coming up with his troop from the direction of Gorgin's Camp, which was beyond the Nawab's rear-guard. A report was being spread at this time that the English had just attacked the Minister's camp. At this rumour the troops were assembling without any proper order between the two camps, when Qasim 'Ali Khan came up seated on his elephant, just as I arrived from my side. As soon as the Nawab saw me, he called me up and asked me what had happened. I related briefly the sad and painful spectacle I had just witnessed. The prince appeared affected thereat, and said: "I had particularly told him never to go about by himself." Then, turning round towards some commanders who accompanied him, he said; "You have just heard what has happened; go back to your tents, "kaire salla" (all goes well)." These last words, uttered in a tone of satisfaction, recalled to my mind the just apprehensions of the Minister as to the fate that was being prepared for him by jealousy and slander. Overcome by the horrible blow that had deprived me of a friend and of all my hopes, I returned to the Nawab's camp.

My situation was critical. A friend—a bosom friend of Gorgin Khan whom I had never left since I had first come to know him, I had just seen him perish under my very eyes without being able to save him! I had escaped myself, I know not how, from the hands of the assassins. In a state of painful uncertainty of mind I went straight to the tent of a Mughal friend of mine, Said-ullah Khan, brother of Mehdi 'Ali Khan, the governor of Patna already mentioned. He received me with all courtesy. It was then 6 p.m. I told him what had just taken place, in a manner that showed my indignation and sympathy with the deceased. The Mughal replied: "Our friend Gurgin Khan had enemies who had defamed him to such an extent that the prince, convinced by all that was told him, may have been incited to this extreme course. I would not like however to be certain as to this, but all that I have heard said makes

me think that it is quite possible. It is pretended that he was a traitor to the Nawab, that the English were in league with him, and this was why they kept his brother Khwaja Petrus in their camp." "What a shocking calumny!", I replied; "I have been privy to the most secret acts of Gorgin Khan, and I never observed the slightest infidelity on his part. The English had proposals made to him to leave the Nawab, assuring him that by this step he could save the life of his brother, whom they were carrying as a prisoner in their camp. What was his answer? It was this: I have pledged my faith to Qasim 'Ali Khan; I shall not abandon him while life is in me. I grieve at the lot of my brother; but I could not stoop to better it by a base act. I can make no proposal that would be contrary to the interests of the prince, the master of my destiny, as the English are of that of my brother. I leave all in the hands of Providence. Never was calumny so horribly concocted. How pitiable are human beings when their passions are so inflamed by venom as to blind them!

Gorgin Khan was far from deserving such a dreadful fate. Not only did Qasim 'Ali Khan owe in part to him the great fortune he had attained, but also the general order that had been introduced in the system of government. Nothing escaped his unremitting vigilance over all branches of the administration. Just, generous, prudent, energetic, of unassailable integrity, he was incessantly busied with everything that could benefit his master or his subjects. The greatest simplicity reigned in his habits, in his equipage, his table and all that pertained to his home. Everything about him disclosed the merits, the goodness and the disinterestedness of the man. In justice I owe him this, and I render it to him with the profoundest satisfaction, as a substitute for the flowers that I would like to have been able to lay every day upon his grave.

The illustrations of justice, of generosity and of strict integrity that I could relate of this minister would help to make his character better known. But, however strong be my feelings of affections and gratitude towards him, any description that I might give would be inadequate."

(To be continued.)

MESROVB J. SETH.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S MISSIONS: COMMERCIAL ENVOYS THROUGH THE WILDS OF BURMA IN THE EARLY PART OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

The period in the history of the British administration of India from the commencement of the rule of Governor-General Lord William Bentinck to the end of the Governor-Generalship of Lord Auckland (1828-42), besides being an epoch in administrative changes and financial reforms¹, was also one of Embassies and Missions. From the Miscellaneous Foreign Department papers which are preserved in the Imperial Record Department it may be gathered that these Missions were conducted by the Officers of the East India Company from this country to the different parts of Asia for the purpose of expanding either the commercial or the political supremacy of the British. Among these Missions stand conspicuous those led by Major M. Symes and Mr. J. Crawford to Ava in 1803 and 1827, by Capt. G. F. Sadleir to Arabia in 1819, by Lieut. W. Pottinger to Sind during 1831-3, by Capt. A. Burnes to Cabul in 1836, by Col. C. M. Wade to the Courts of the Maharaja Ranjit Singh and the Nawab of Bahawalpur during 1831-39, by Dr. D. Richardson to the Chiefs of the wild tracts of Burma and to the Manipur Frontier during 1830-39, by Capt. S. F. Hannay to the north of Ava during 1835-6, by Capt. W. McLeod to the Frontier Provinces of China in 1837, and last but not least, by Capt. J. Abbott to Khiva in 1840.

2. The papers connected with the accounts of these Missions are numerous in the archives of the Imperial Record Department and they read like a romance. They show the indefatigable energy, perseverance and tact of the British Officers who led the Missions. The

¹ The abolition of *Sati* in 1829, the suppression of Thagi, the renewal of the East India Company's charter in 1833, the annexation of Coorg in 1834, the liberty of the Press, the imposition of duties on the opium of Malwa, etc.

papers also show that among all the European nations who were contesting for dominance in the East between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries, the British were the only people who survived in the long run and continued to prosper till they built a mighty Empire in the East. The records afford ample evidence as to the truth of the well-known expression "the survival of the fittest." One such paper² is concerned with the account of the adventurous journey of Dr. D. Richardson through the wilds of Burma in 1835.

3. The materials of the present paper have been taken from the records which deal with the accounts of the commercial Missions which Dr. D. Richardson and Capt. W. McLeod undertook from Moulmein through the unknown lands of Burma during the years 1835-7.

4. It will not be out of place to mention here why Dr. Richardson and Capt. McLeod set out on their tour from Moulmein. About the year 1750 the scion of a new dynasty was governing Burma. It was founded by Alompra, who made Ava his capital. The dynasty of Alompra after having subjugated all Burma began a series of encroachments on the British territories. As the Burmese had rejected all proposals of peace, the British Government was at last compelled to declare war in February, 1824. In the end the Burmese king (the king of Ava) signed in 1826 the Treaty of Yandaboo by virtue of which the whole coast of Tenasserim came under the possession of the English. About the year 1827 General Sir Archibald Campbell selected Moulmein as the capital of the newly-acquired provinces of Tenasserim.

5. It appears from the records³ that the following were the main objects of Dr. Richardson's tour in Burma in 1835:—

- (a) to extend and confirm the friendly feelings of the Shan and other Burma States towards the English, whereby the supplies of cattle for the English troops could be obtained at a considerable saving to the British Government;
- (b) to induce the Chinese caravan that annually visited the Shan town for trade, to extend their journey to Moulmein;
- (c) to open friendly intercourse with the tribe of Karens, called the 'Red Karens,' who dwelt on the banks of the Salween river to the north of the Tenasserim Province;

² Rev. Dept. (Govt. of Bengal) O. C. the 22nd Sept. 1835, No. 2 (Appendix A).

³ *Ibid.*, Nos. 1 and 2.

- (d) to warn the Burmese Chiefs against attacking or otherwise molesting the Karens who were English subjects;
- (e) to visit the different independent wild tracts of Burma and to obtain first-hand knowledge of their people.

6. Dr. Richardson was eminently successful in his Mission. The following extracts from the letter⁴ of Mr. E. A. Blundell, Commissioner in the Tenasserim Province, to Mr. R. D. Mangles, Secretary to the Government of Bengal (Revenue and Judicial Dept.), dated Moulmein, 13th July, 1835, testify to the utility of this enterprise. The first extract runs: "In effecting the second object above mentioned Dr. Richardson will be entitled to the gratitude of the English mercantile community for opening to them another fertile channel for the disposal of their goods." Another extract says: "Doctor Richardson seems to have been completely successful in the objects for which he was deputed."

7. Dr. Richardson submitted the report of his Mission to Mr. Blundell in June, 1835 (Appendix A) who in his turn forwarded⁵ it to the Government of Bengal on the 13th July following for their perusal. The Government of Bengal were satisfied with the good result achieved by Dr. Richardson's tour in Burma, and in their reply⁶ to Mr. Blundell on the 22nd September, 1835 were pleased to say that "they have been much gratified with the zeal, perseverance and discretion displayed by him (Dr. Richardson) on this occasion."

8. In the report of Dr. Richardson we have valuable topographical data of the regions through which he passed. It also gives an insight into the manners, customs, commerce, festivals and superstitions of their inhabitants.

9. The impetus which this tour of Dr. Richardson gave to British commerce in Burma so much encouraged Mr. Blundell that he, in his letter⁷ to the Government of Bengal, dated Moulmein, the 13th July, 1835, again approached them for sanction to send a fresh commercial Mission to Burma up to the frontier provinces of China. He emphasised the utility of this Mission especially for the reason, as may be found from the records⁸, that about this time a deputation was about to proceed to the frontiers of China from Assam to report on the tea cultivation in that direction. It is very gratifying to note that the Government

⁴ Rev. Dept. (Bengal) O. C. the 22nd Sept. 1835, No. 1.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Rev. Dept. (Bengal) O. C. the 22nd Sept. 1835, No. 3.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 1.

of Bengal in their letter⁹ to Mr. Blundell, dated the 22nd September, 1835, readily granted the request.

10. Accordingly Mr. Blundell selected his Assistant, Capt. W. McLeod, for the China Mission, and of his own accord and without the sanction of the Government, again selected Dr. Richardson, his surgeon, to be sent "in charge of a large and valuable caravan towards the north-western States of Burma," which were at the time under the King of Ava. This action of Mr. Blundell was subsequently approved¹⁰ by the Government of Bengal.

11. The great object which Mr. Blundell had in view in sending these two Officers to the aforesaid missions will be apparent from his letter¹¹ on this subject. As this is a lengthy document, the reader is referred to the records for details. The subjoined extract from this letter, besides describing the utility of expanding inland trade in Burma, presents a running commentary on the character of the lower sections of the Indian people of that period which cannot altogether be disregarded. "In addition to these benefits one most material object such Missions would tend to is to open new and to enlarge old channels of inland trade, than which nothing will more conduce to the prosperity of these (British) provinces. It is necessary to secure the good-will of the Chief in our immediate neighbourhood through whose territories the traders from more distant countries must pass; and nothing is more likely to effect this than the occasional visit of a British Officer with complimentary letters and presents, who also in his communications with them will have it in his power to correct any erroneous impressions they may have imbibed from the conduct and reports of the traders from Moulmein, many of whom, especially some low characters from Bengal and Madras who often give considerable trouble in those countries and demean themselves improperly on the strength of their being British subjects."

12. Before Dr. Richardson and Capt. McLeod set out on their tours, Mr. Blundell gave them valuable instructions on the 25th November, 1836, as to how they should act and behave during their journeys. Those letters¹² of instruction, which are very interesting, are too lengthy to be reproduced here.

⁹ Rev. Dept. (Bengal) O. C. the 22nd Sept. 1835, No. 3.

¹⁰ Rev. and Agri. Dept. the 27th Feb., 1837, No. 3 (last letter).

¹¹ Rev. and Agri. Dept. the 27th Feb., 1837, No. 3 (first letter).

¹² Rev. and Agri. Dept. O. C. the 27th Feb., 1837, No. 3. (Letters Nos. 2 and 7).

The following are a few of the more important points which occur in the letter to Capt. McLeod:—

- (a) that Capt. McLeod should render himself agreeable to the people and their Chiefs through whose countries he would pass;
- (b) that he should explain to the Chiefs of the countries through which he would travel that the Company are very anxious to open a trade with them whereby each might be mutually benefited;
- (c) that he should inform them of the market that is open for their produce at the British provinces in Burma, and of the facility of obtaining thereof all they want in exchange;
- (d) that he should make known to the Company on his return what description of merchandise they might send to those distant countries which would command ready sale;
- (e) that he should point out to the Burmese Chiefs how much they would benefit by an extended trade passing to and from their territories;
- (f) that he should endeavour to impress upon them that the sole object of his mission is to open new channels of trade and to ascertain from them what route would promote the expansion of trade in their dominions best;
- (g) that he should ascertain from them their views on the caravans of traders which generally proceed from other countries to the British provinces in Burma through their jurisdiction, the impediments that might be placed in their way in the shape of tolls or other exactions and the protection that would be extended to them;
- (h) that he would try to guide his movements after reaching Zimmay according to the information received from the Chinese traders whom he would meet there;
- (i) that if he found it impossible to return from his destination before the monsoon, he might pass the wet season with the Chinese, provided he anticipated friendly behaviour from them;
- (j) that he should cautiously avoid doing or saying anything that might give offence, or that might lead to the inference that his object is anything but that of opening trade with them;

- (k) that he should prepare a map of his route and fix the sites of the towns he would pass and the course of the rivers he would cross;
- (l) that he should cautiously use his surveying instruments lest it cause jealousy or fear among the wild tribes;
- (m) that he should endeavour to collect information on the produce of the countries through which he might pass, on the possible demand for English manufactures, as well as on the course of trade, the encouragement and protection afforded to traders, besides other points that might prove useful towards opening commercial intercourse;
- (n) that he should note the manners and habits of the people, the nature of the Government, the influence, direct or indirect, of the surrounding more powerful natives of China, Ava and Siam, the estimation in which the English are held, the desire or otherwise of the people for cultivating intercourse with the English, as also the cause of any impediment that might exist towards it;
- (o) that he should collect every information on such scientific subjects as the products of Natural History, Botany, Mineralogy and kindred sciences;
- (p) that he should make inquiries about the state of the cattle trade, as well as ascertain the probable continuance of supplies and the impediments that might exist to their free exportation;
- (q) that he should collect information on the establishment of the Government and the state of affairs consequent on the death of the late principal Chief, Chowcheewet (*sic*) the head of the family, whose successors retain among themselves the several Shan States to the north;
- (r) that he should cautiously avoid all political subjects in his conversations with the Chiefs and if introduced by them he should tell them at once that his object is solely that of extending trade and nothing more;
- (s) that he should particularly warn the natives of India who proceed to the Shan States for trade not to engage themselves in the slave trade, which trade they might find prevalent among the Shans and the red Karens.

13. One interesting point which we find in the above letter is that the "town of Mon La" was the chief centre where the Chinese traders from China met together in the early part of the nineteenth century for commercial purposes.

14. The following important points occur in the letter which Mr. Blundell wrote to Dr. Richardson:—

- (a) that Dr. Richardson should be careful to see that no advantage is taken of his presence by the traders to evade payment of such duties as may be customary or may be fairly and lawfully demanded by the Burmese Government, though he should resist all exorbitant demands and exactions;
- (b) that he should try to secure, if possible in writing, from the several Chiefs he might visit on his way through, promise to allow him a free and unmolested return passage;
- (c) that after accompanying the caravan under his charge to its destination and securing for it the protection of those in authority there, he should endeavour to reach Ava, after which he should report to Lieut.-Col. Burney, the English Resident of the place, the result of his accompanying the caravan;
- (d) that he should be perfectly frank as to the object of his Mission explaining to the authorities of the places through which he might pass that it was solely for the purpose of opening trade between their countries and the English territories, where a ready market would be found for their produce, that this Mission was proceeding;
- (e) that he should take particular note of everything of a commercial nature, of the demand for English manufactures among the rude tribes of Burma, of the things obtainable in return, of the feelings and wishes of the Native Chiefs, and of the people with regard to more intimate intercourse with the English, of the duties or tolls demandable at the several towns and of the protection afforded to the traders from British provinces.

15. From the following extracts it may be gleaned that the land through which Dr. Richardson had to pass was to the European travellers a *terra incognita*, a land untrodden by civilised man. The record says:—"Having conducted the caravan through the Karenni country you will enter others of which little or nothing is known beyond the fact

of their being dependent on Ava." Again it is noted: "As the route you will have to traverse is unknown to us and has not hitherto been visited by Europeans, I am unable to give you any but general instructions as to the best mode of effecting your object."

16. Mr. Blundell took so much interest in these Missions that, not content with giving salutary instructions to these Officers, he further provided them with letters of instruction to the different Chiefs through whose countries they would pass, asking for safe conduct and assistance. Among those so addressed were the Chief of Laboung, the Chief of Zimmay, the Chief of Kienyoungji, the Chief of Mon La, the Chief of Tally, the Chiefs of the Karen countries (Pa Bo, Pa Bang and Kay Ba) and the Chief of Mone. These letters of introduction are all, more or less, of a similar nature. One of these, given in Appendix B, should convey to the reader an adequate idea of what they were all like.

17. In the letter of Lieut.-Col. H. Burney, Resident at Ava, to W. H. Macnaghten, Secretary to the Government of India (Pol. Dept), dated Ava, the 18th March, 1837, there is an interesting account of the passage¹³ of Dr. Richardson from Moulmein to Mone. We learn from it that Dr. Richardson and Capt. McLeod after leaving Moulmein on the 13th December, 1836, travelled together up to the Northern frontier of the Tenasserim Provinces and then separated. The former turned his course in a north-easterly direction and the latter went towards the north-west. Dr. Richardson arrived at the Shan town of Mone on the 22nd February, 1837. It may also be gleaned from this letter that during his passage through the countries of the wild tribes he was "treated throughout in the most civil and friendly manner by the Karens who provided him with food and guide; they also promised every facility and assistance to the traders who might pass to and from Moulmein through their country." Such, however, was not the case with him when he left the Karenni country and entered those under the Burmese king (the king of Ava). At the Burman cities of Moukmai and Mone Dr. Richardson and his party were insulted in every way, short of violence. At Mone they were detained and were disallowed to proceed any further by the Chief authority of that place (styled Tsitkegyih), on the ground that the presents and letters sent from Moulmein by Dr. Blundell, through Richardson, to the king of Ava were not addressed to him. At the intervention of the king, however, they were subsequently released. We further learn from these records that Capt. McLeod, after his separation from Richardson, arrived at

¹³ Pol. Con. the 10th July, 1837, No. 66.

the town of Kyaingtoun on the 15th March, 1837. From Mone, Dr. Richardson directed his journey towards Ava and from Kyaingtoun, Capt. McLeod went towards the countries bordering on China. "The journey between Mone and Ava took in those times from 8 to 14 days, and that between Kyaingtoun and Ava, passing through Mone, from 18 to 31 days according as a man travelled express or leisurely."

18. The letter of Col. Burney besides giving an interesting topographical description of the wild tracts through which Dr. Richardson had to pass from Moulmein to Mone also gives us some information about the Government of the Shan provinces under the Burmese king (the king of Ava). An extract from the letter shows that "the whole route from Moulmein to Mone, after crossing the Toungain, was interminable hill and jungle, with the exception of the valleys, of Main Lenggyih, Kadoo, Banthaut and Moukmai, the last the largest, perhaps, 25 or 30 by 15 or 20 miles; he (Dr. Richardson) had before formed no idea of the populousness of the Karenni country, in travelling through which for several days he had found the whole of the hills well and carefully cultivated and the little valleys between terraced and irrigated in the Chinese style with the greatest neatness and regularity." Again, "in most of the Shan Provinces subject to Ava, a Burmese or half Shan and half Burmese Officer, styled Tsit-ke-gyih, is stationed by the Prince Bo Mhn Woon (*sic*) as the superintendent or a kind of Secretary of State of Ava for all the Shan Provinces. This Tsitke has entire charge of the political relations and exercises great control in all other matters over the Shan Chiefs or Tsaubwa."

19. It appears from the records that towards the beginning of the year 1838, Dr. Richardson was at Moulmein after finishing his Ava tour and the letter¹⁴ of Mr. Blundell to Mr. H. T. Prinsep, Secretary to the Government of India, (Pol. Dept.), dated Moulmein, the 23rd February, 1838, informs us that he proceeded about this time to Calcutta on board the ship "*Diana*" on a month's leave. While at Calcutta he was "employed¹⁵ in supervising the compilation of a new map of the Southern Burma Territory." We find from subsequently records¹⁶ that he returned to his duties at Moulmein towards the end of April, 1838, on board the ship, the "*Ganges*." The exact time when Capt. McLeod returned from his China tour cannot, however, be ascertained from the records.

¹⁴ Sec. O. C. the 14th March, 1838, No. 17.

¹⁵ Sec. O. C. the 14th March, 1838, No. 18.

¹⁶ Pol. O. C. the 25th April, 1838, No. 183.

20. These Missions were fraught with immense good to the Company as well as to the crude tribes of Burma. The Missions not only opened a safe and busy market for the Company on the Frontiers of China for British goods, but they gave as well an impetus to the inland trade of Burma; and the goodwill of the tribes towards the Company ushered in a new era of civilisation for the Burmese. It was one of the first links of the chain that now joins in close union Burma and its teeming population with the mighty millions that go to form the British Indian Empire.

APPENDIX A.

Report from Dr. D. Richardson, to E. A. Blundell, Commissioner in the Tenasserim Provinces, dated Moulmein,—June 1835, regarding his commercial tour through the wild tracts of Burma.

'I am happy to state that I found no diminution whatever of the kindly feeling that has always existed towards us among the Chiefs of Laboung, the first town that I visited from Moulmein. I regret, however, to report the death of the old Tsawbwa,* Chowtcheweet (*sic*), during my residence in the country. This person has always been warmly attached to us and being the head of the Family from which all the Chiefs of the neighbouring towns and States are sprung, his influence in our favour has no doubt greatly extended towards exciting the kindly feelings with which we seem to be everywhere regarded. At Zimmay, the "Chow Hona" or heir apparent, the most influential of the Chiefs and in fact the active Member of Government, is not inclined to regard us so favourably as the other Chiefs. I think that were it not for the decided feeling of both Chiefs and people in our favour throughout the whole country that this man would greatly injure our present relation with them, as it is in Zimmay alone are there any impediment to the free and unrestricted trade with us in cattle. Since my last visit, the Chow Hona (heir-apparent) has issued an order that the Moulmein traders purchasing cattle shall produce the persons from whom the purchase was made at the "Youm" or court. This amounted to a virtual prohibition and after some discussion I obtained the order to be altered into all purchases of cattle to be made in presence of the Thughe or headman of the village where the sellers may reside, though this is a restriction which is not laid in Laboung (the first city visited) where the people from Moulmein are merely required to take out a pass

* *Tsawbwa* means "The ruler of a Shan State,"

at the Youm with which they may go through the whole country and make any purchases they like. Another obstacle placed in the way of our traders at Zimmay is in the delay that occurs in granting them their passes to quit the country. I found a party of 8 or 10 who had been waiting ten days for their pass and had been daily put off. I pointed out the injury thus suffered by our people and their pass was granted at once and to all other applicants during my stay at Zimmay, though I fear the old system of delay may again be resorted to. I may mention here that after my arrival at Zimmay, a grand festival was to take place, for which I was strongly pressed to stay. One of the amusements at this festival was the letting off of large rockets, each rocket being honoured with some name and supposed to appertain to some Chief or great personage. One was appropriated to me and my coolies and servants being joined by a number of Moulmein traders then in the place, who entered into the spirit of the thing, my rocket was well attended to the ground with dancing and singing to the delight of the Shans to whom Burmese music and dancing was quite a novelty. The rockets were all of wretched construction but it so happened that mine performed its duty in a style infinitely superior to any on the ground and such is the superstition of these people that I feel confident that this incident has made an impression on their minds of the superiority of our nation which will not easily be effaced.

2. From Zimmay I proceeded to Lagoun to which my visits had not extended on my former mission. Here I was received with a warm welcome and great attention and hospitality. The Chiefs of the place seemed really pleased at seeing me and at having an opportunity of expressing their good-will towards us. Indeed throughout the country both Chiefs and people in all the conversations which I had an opportunity of holding with them seem really grateful for the comfort and happiness they now enjoy, free from the destructive inroads of the Burmese and from the incessant calls on both their persons and their purse towards the defence of their country. Owing to our occupation of these provinces they (Lagounese) can now till the ground and look after their fields without the necessity of being armed or of securing their wives and children in their forts and strongholds. The question was often put to me why we do not avail ourselves of the Treaty of Yandabo and take possession of the country east of the Salween and north of our Shan neighbours which is dependent on the Burmese. There is no doubt that the Shan Chiefs would gladly see us do so and as a large portion of the population of these States are Northern Shans, I imagine that the people of the country itself would be equally glad to

place themselves under us to avoid the exactions and impositions of their present rulers. At Lagoun, indeed, the Chief did not seem to be perfectly certain whether we (the English) had not already taken possession of the country (east of the Salween) for they consulted me about attacking a village of Meelat Shans (*sic*) lately established between Reintheen Shans (*sic*) and Kaimtaung (*sic*) and enquired whether it was by our orders that it was established; if not, they were inclined to attack it. I told them that though the Treaty of Yandabo gives us all the possessions held by the Burmese to the eastward of the Salween, we had never pushed our claim to the northward of this and that it was a town of the Burmese but advised them, as they wished to avoid the miseries formerly suffered by the inhabitants of the part of the country, to let them alone.

3. Lagoun is equal in size and equal populous with Zimmay. It is situated on the banks of the Maywang, a small stream, that for the greater part of the year is not navigable even for the smallest boats; neither is it available for the purpose of irrigation. The consequence is that the people complain of the scarcity and dearness of provisions, but I would say that this is much their own fault as vegetation is as luxuriant and vigorous as in any other part of the country and that a less slovenly mode of cultivation would secure them an abundant supply of provisions.

4. There exists a difficulty with the Chiefs whom I visited with regard to the punishment of our subjects who commit offences within their jurisdiction owing to the idea that we should resent such an exercise of their authority. I disclaimed any such feeling on our part and referred them to the treaty of Bankok which (*sic*) they would find that offenders against the laws of one country are to be tried by those laws and by the Judges of that country. A fear or delicacy, however, on this subject seems still to exist among them. For, on my return route to this place from the country of the red Karens a letter met me from the Chief of Zimmay to say that two Tounghthoos had carried off a slave of Chen Rajawoong and had been caught four or five marches from Zimmay. They desired to know what they were to do in this case. Having no writing materials with me at the time I returned a verbal message to the effect that though slavery was unknown to us and consequently the crime of seducing away a slave, yet that these persons well knew such was the laws of the country they were residing in and they must abide its consequences. I trusted however the length of time they had been in confinement pending a reference to me would be taken into consideration.

5. At Zimmay I found the caravan of Chinese traders consisting of 200 mules and horses. Three hundred more were said to be at Mounghan where cotton is abundant. They had arrived in the country a considerable time before me and were preparing shortly to return home. I had a good deal of conversation with two heads of the caravan who seemed to be intelligent enterprising characters. They said they had long entertained the idea of visiting Moulmein and now that they were invited to do so and were assured of protection they would undoubtedly do so the next season, the present one being too far advanced to allow of their increasing their distance from home. They requested that an interpreter should meet them at Zimmay and from their repeated requests that he should be at Zimmay in all November in order to accompany them down, I feel convinced these people will be at Moulmein before the end of this year. With the Chiefs I found no difficulty whatever in obtaining their consent to their passing through the country. No objection was even hinted nor have I reason to expect that any will hereafter arise.

6. The imports by these caravans consist of copper and iron vessels, silk (raw and manufactured), satins, gold and silver thread and lace, musk, walnuts, carpets and vermillion. Their exports from the Shan country are cotton, ivory, skins and horns, etc. From the information which I could collect, the caravan assembled at Mounkoo, distant from Zimmay about two months' journey. Their goods are conveyed by mules and they would appear to travel rapidly as they asserted they would not be more than 12 days from Zimmay to Moulmein. They allow nothing to detain them on their journeys. If a man falls sick or is disabled, he is left behind and if one dies, they do not even stop to bury him but cover his body with a cloth and continue their route.

7. On the third part of my instructions that relative to the exactions from the Karens living on our side of the Thoungyeen river I experienced rather more opposition than I had anticipated. I broached the subject to Chow Hona of Laboung, the first town I visited, but he referred me to Zimmay whose jurisdiction extends in that direction. On my arrival at Zimmay and at my first visit to the Tsaubwa and the assembled minor Chiefs I called their attention to what was said in your letter about the exactions levied from our Karens. They seemed reluctant to enter on the subject but I obliged them at last to acknowledge they were aware of the fact. They pleaded immemorial custom. I pointed out that they might have done so when the Burmese had the provinces who might not have been in the situation to prevent them but

that now under us, they must as much refrain from levying on the Frontier Karens as from the town of Moulmein itself and explained to them in the most positive manner that we would not allow a continuance of such acts. These strong observations were evidently not palatable and after a short silence one of the minor Chiefs said "you should not speak so strongly on so small a subject. Let us consider of the matter and we will give you an answer before you go." In the discussion, Chow Hona, and leading man in Zimmay, to whom I have already referred as being less favourable towards us than the other Shan Chiefs was the only speaker. The old Tsaubwa himself being nearly a cypher in his Government and ruled in all he says and does by Chow Hona who was puzzled and his dignity hurt. So I learnt subsequently by my strong language as he would be considered to have greatly fallen in the eyes of the people had he immediately given in and assented to my remark.

8. The festival to which I have above alluded precluded any further discussion on this or other subjects as the Chiefs were too much taken up with it to attend to business. On its completion I received a visit from some of the minor officers of Government evidently with the intention of sounding me as to my determination to persevere in the demand I had made for their exactions south of the Thaungyeen being put a stop to, in order that when I again met the Chiefs, Chow Hona's dignity might not be lowered by having to give in to me. Consequently in my next official visit on asking for the result of their deliberations I was promised that no repetition of the exactions complained of should take place. A counter complaint was then made to me of our Karens having seized and confined one of their officers who was levying the usual exactions and obtained restitution of what he had levied. I replied that you (Mr. Blundell) were ignorant of this circumstance when I left Moulmein, that I had reported to you from the frontiers, and that I was confident you would cause an investigation to be made into it. I remarked, however, at the same time that I could not consider our Karens to be much to blame for redemanding what should never been taken from them, though their mode of doing it was irregular. You desire me in your instructions to demand the restitution of what may have already been levied by the Shans on our people; but considering that the question of right had been freely yielded and that the Shans had been encouraged to continue their exactions by the tameness and timidity of the Karens who of themselves had never represented the circumstance at Moulmein and considering too the small amount levied, I thought it would have seemed beneath us to demand restitution and

be treating them with too much strictness and severity. I hope this deviation from my instructions will not be disapproved of.

9. At this meeting it was agreed that a duty of $1\frac{1}{4}$ rupees should be levied on each teak tree felled by our cutters within their jurisdiction. These trees being valueless to them owing to their not being able to convey the timber from the forest against the stream, Chow Hona in the first instance scouted the idea of levying duty on jungle trees.

10. It was my wish and intention to have visited the Shan towns of Mounng Pay of Mounngnow but owing to my late arrival in the country and to my detention at Zimmay I found I could not accomplish such visits and one to the red Karens. I returned therefore from Lagoun to Laboung in order to make preparation for my trip to the Karen country. Here I found the Shan Chiefs of all the associated States assembled to perform the funeral rites over the body of Chowtcheweet, the late Tsaubwa and the acknowledged head of their family. Here I had to enter into long and disagreeable discussions relative to the three elephants which had been stolen at Moulmein on several occasions and which had been traced to Laboung and the thieves discovered. The difficulty arose from the thieves being proteges or dependants of Chow Hona of Laboung who alone opposed restitution of the property or the punishment of the thieves. I at last threatened that unless I could report to you that this business was satisfactorily settled you would refer it to Bangkok. This alarmed them, as under present circumstances they must deprecate any reference against them to the king of Siam, who might take advantage of the opportunity to place a stranger in the situation of the deceased Tsaubwa. Still the settlement was put off till the arrival of the "Tsaubwa" of Zimmay who had returned to his town for a few days and I was obliged to quit without knowing the result of their deliberations. I learnt, however by the messenger who met me on my return from the red Karens before mentioned that the affair had been terminated to the satisfaction of the owners of the elephants who had accompanied me from Moulmein.

11. At this assembly the Chiefs seemed on very bad terms with each other and their deliberations were conducted with much acrimony and on one occasion with personal violence. The Chow Hona of Laboung appeared to have given general dissatisfaction though he again was full of complaints against the others. This mutual bad feeling was shewn in the inditing of the letter brought by me to your address from the Chiefs of Laboung. I was informed by one of them that when it was read to Chow Hona he ordered his name to be struck out without

assigning any reason. When I called on him to bid him farewell I asked him why he had done so. He begged me to assure you that no disrespect towards you was intended by it, that the letter had been written without in the least consulting him and though it was a very good letter yet he declined to have his name in it under such circumstances. He then went on to say that the death of the old man whose obsequies they were then celebrating would, he feared, be the cause of much evil and misery to the country owing to their own dissensions.

12. Having at last obtained the letter intended for you and having been furnished with an order for guides from the frontier to the Karenne country, I left Laboung on the 25th March for the red Karens. It is not necessary that I should here enter into any details of my journey but merely to state that though the tract of land occupied by these Karens lies due west from Zimmay and Laboung yet the road always taken in South-west to Meenlungghee (*sic*) and from thence North-westernly (*sic*) to Baning (*sic*), commonly known as the red Karen landing place. This is a wretched insignificant village containing no more than 25 or 30 huts but it is the emporium of the trade of these savages (Red Karens). Such is the timidity of the Shans and the dread in which they hold these people that they never venture into the country if they can avoid it but bring their cattle and money to this place where they exchange them for slaves and stick-lac. These slaves are Shans like themselves but of the country west of the Salween dependant on Ava whom they purchase with the greatest indifference and, though they treat them well as slaves, without one thought of the misery their encouragement of the practice causes their fellow creatures.

13. Before crossing the Salween I was visited by the headman of the village and the son of the Chief by whom a visit from Moulmein of a European officer was last year requested but they appeared to be two of equal and joint authority. They seemed undecided at first, which Chief I should visit. At last they determined on the youth's father as the other Chief is but a youth himself. My Shan friends who accompanied me as guides at first declined going any further but from mere shame, I believe, at deserting me, crossed the river with me and accompanied me to the Chief of their much dreaded allies. I reached the residence of this personage in three days after crossing the river (the Salween), a good sized village situated in some tableland about 1,021 feet by thermometer above the level of the sea. Above this again at a height of about 2,049 feet above the sea was another ledge of tableland and a third again above that, which last is said to be of some extent and exceedingly fertile. It is owing to the favourable sites

of these places that they have been able to maintain their independence against the whole force of Ava though armed themselves only with bows and arrows with a few matchlocks among them. The Chief's residence, dignified with the name of the palace, was a wretched, ill-constructed wooden house with no other means of admitting light than the crevices between the planks. There was a fire in the middle of the room and what with the stench arising from rotten yams strewed over the floor and the effluvia from a close room crowded with these abominably dirty people, my audience was far from pleasing. I said I had come with a letter and presents from you agreeably to the message you had received from him that an English officer should visit his country. He said he made the request that he might know whether we would join him in an attack on the Burmese. I explained that we could not do so as the Burmese were now our friends. I then requested his protection for our traders who might visit or pass through his country. This he readily promised and that he would make known my request to all the Chiefs of his tribe. I remained three days at this place during which time some Moulmein traders who (on the faith of my intended visit) had penetrated northward to the Burmese Shan countries, returned and informed me that they had fallen in with a caravan of Chinese who expressed their desire to visit Moulmein but were afraid to trust themselves in the hands of Karens. Our traders had made a very profitable trip selling their piece goods at a very large profit and bringing back ponies and sticklac with them. I have every reason to flatter myself that the road to the North-Western Shans is now open through the Karen country and if these people can manage to elude the vigilance of their Burmese masters and instead of passing through the large towns of Toungho, Shoaygine, Seetang and Biling (*sic*) plundered successively by their Governors and harassed with exactions of all kinds, they will come direct to Moulmein, our commercial interests in this quarter will be very highly benefitted; at all events if the Shans themselves are prevented from availing themselves of the opening now made for them, there is no impediment to our traders seeking them.

14. I quitted the Karen Chief's residence on the 16th April and arrived here on the 10th May. I met at Meuloonghee (*sic*) an elephant on its way down as a return present from the Chief of Zimmay. I received also two elephants for a similar purpose from the Chief of Loboung which, however, I regret to say have both died since my arrival here. The Chief of Lagaoun having intimated his intention of sending you 30 milch cows as a return present, I left three men at that place to bring them down.

15. I regret to state that three of the Government elephants with which I was furnished for my journey died at different periods.

16. I have the honour to forward you the letters to your address from the several Chiefs in reply to those from you presented to me and I beg leave to conclude my report with a short summary of the advantages likely to be derived from my mission.

17. I need not descant upon the great importance of opening a market with the frontiers of China for British goods by means of the caravans of Chinese traders. It is probable that on the first visit of these people to Moulmein their numbers will be few but when once aware of the safety and freedom from all vexations and exactions with which their visits will be attended and of the extensive market existing for their goods, I think there can be no doubt we shall see them here in future years in great numbers. I learnt from the people and also from other quarters during my travels that no difficulty would exist in our traders visiting the frontier towns of China. The Chinese asserted there were no guards and no restrictions in their towns and a person of some rank at Labon (*sic*) pressed me to accompany him next year on a trading expedition in that direction. I cannot but think this subject is worthy of consideration of the Government and should anything of the kind be deemed advisable, I should be most happy to offer my services.

18. An extensive opening for our inland trade has been made by securing the good-will towards us of the red Karens and it is possible that the intercourse with these people now commenced may lead eventually towards their civilization and that our influence with them may hereafter be successfully exerted in putting an end to their system of kidnapping and selling their neighbours, which now forms their sole occupation. I learnt that 300 to 400 unfortunate beings are annually caught by these people and sold by them into perpetual slavery. I met many of them on my journey, some just purchased and some on their way to be sold.

19. The kind feelings of our North-Eastern Shan neighbours towards us have been increased by my late visit. The mixture of firmness and conciliation which I had it in my power to exhibit towards them on the points discussed has tended to convince them that we are firm and consistent friends not desirous of aggrandising ourselves at their expense but at the same time not to be imposed on or trifled with."

APPENDIX B.

To

The Chief of Laboung.

“ When Dr. Richardson returned to Moulmein in the month of Kastoung 1197 (May, 1835) he reported to me that he had been most kindly received by you, and that you stated that you would permit an English Officer to pass through your territories and afford him every assistance should I wish to send one to the countries beyond your's, even to China. I have reported this to the Ruler of India, and I have received his orders to depute an Officer on a friendly visit to China and to the intermediate countries, in order to open a road of trade with them, to obtain their permission for our traders to visit them, and to recommend their traders to bring their produce to Moulmein and exchange it for our's. The Officer whom I send is Captain McLeod, the Governor of Mergui, whom I hope you will receive as kindly as you always have done Doctor Richardson, and that you will find him equally agreeable to you. Doctor Richardson has this year gone with a caravan of traders to Mone, as it is the wish of the English to become known to and to trade with all the countries in the neighbourhood in order to the mutual benefit of all. As there is now a constant intercourse between your country and Moulmein, and numerous traders from hence go annually to Laboung and reside there a long while, it is desirable that an officer should occasionally visit you in order to thank you for the protection afforded to our traders and to ascertain your wishes, and whether by the misconduct of inferior persons any offence is given that may injure the strong friendship that ought always to exist between us. Nothing has occurred here to give offence, and if anything has occurred in your country, Captain McLeod will hear it and report it to me. After this I hope you will fulfil your promise and allow Captain McLeod to go on his journey to the countries and afford him every assistance and protection he may require. To open a trade with other countries is a good work, because the people of all countries benefit by it. Moulmein is a seaport town from whence the produce of distant countries can be conveyed to all parts of the world in ships, which bring other merchandize to Moulmein. It is therefore the wish of the English to induce the people of distant countries to bring their products to Moulmein because it will always sell well, and they can purchase English articles cheap. Therefore Captain McLeod is deputed to point this out to the countries between your's and China. You will benefit also by so large a trade passing through your country and your name will become renowned among the English who will always be

your friends. As a promise was given to Doctor Richardson on his last visit to allow a free permission to traders to pass to and from Moulmein through your territories, and as some Chinese traders visited Moulmein last year, I feel confident you will continue this friendly permission, and Captain McLeod will report to me your wishes on this subject. I have given Captain McLeod a few presents for you as a token of respect and friendship.

(Sd.) E. A. Blundell,
Commissioner,
Tenasserim Provinces.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI,

THE FRENCH LANGUAGE.

(Adapted from the French.)

The French language is spoken throughout France with the single exception of the province of Bretagne, where more than a million inhabitants speak the language known as Breton, which is of Celtic origin. To this important exception may be added three other small groups of inhabitants. In the north of France some 150,000 inhabitants speak the Flemish language, which is derived from German. In the southern department of Basses-Pyrénées, some 120,000 people speak the Basque, a very ancient language whose origin is unknown. In the south-eastern department of the Pyrénées-Orientales some 100,000 residents speak the Catalanian language, which is derived from Latin.

Though French is not spoken in those parts France is compensated in this respect that there are several foreign territories where French is current. These are the greater part of Belgium, the two provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, which until the recent great war belonged to Germany, and finally the Norman islands, which belong to England. Outside Europe, French is spoken throughout the English colony of Canada and the island of Mauritius. Canada and Mauritius have long been British possessions, but both have retained the use of French, their original language. French is of course also spoken in the colonies of France, viz., the Antilles, Algeria, Tunis, Guiana, Senegal, Cochin-China, Pondichery, etc.

From the linguistic point of view France is divided into two regions, north and south, lying on either side of an imaginary line connecting La Rochelle with Grenoble. To the north of this line all educated people speak French. All the peasants speak dialects, called *Patois*, which closely resemble French. There are four of these dialects, viz., the *Patois Normand* in the west, the *Picard* in the north, the *Lorrain* in the east, and the *Bourguignon* in the centre and the south-east of the region to the north of the imaginary line mentioned above.

To the south of the imaginary line, that is, in the southern half of France, a different state of things prevails. The educated people understand and write French, but among themselves they prefer to speak their own *Patois*, which is a language by itself and as different from French as Italian or Spanish. As regards the peasants in this part of

the country they do not, despite the efforts made in the primary schools, speak anything but their own dialects, e.g. the *limousin*, the *langue-docien*, the *provençal*.

The four dialects spoken in the north are called the French dialects on account of their close resemblance to French, while those used to the south of the river Loire are called *Patois Provençaux*.

Besides the above there are the slang terms called *Argot*, used chiefly by the criminal classes and the lower orders in Paris, which are to be understood only with the aid of dictionaries *d'Argot*, of which there are several.

The above shows how many languages are spoken within the small country of France, and illustrates the statement that human speech undergoes some change after every 200 or 300 miles.

M. AHMAD.

MUTAFARRIQÂT.

An American magazine in a recent issue throws out a hint which might at least be discussed in India. It states that University students who are working their way through College, *i.e.*, who are dependent on their own efforts for their support there, often find that they have not sufficient provision to carry them through, and in their straits are obliged to stint themselves, borrow or give up, with the result that they are losers all round. And the suggestion is made that no one should be permitted to begin a course who has not adequate resources to complete it.

This suggestion is not antagonistic to poor students. The world owes too much to men who have struggled through harsh adversity to obtain a College education and admires their example too highly for such a feeling to be entertained in any quarter. "Meal Monday" is, or was till recently, an honoured holiday in Glasgow University, though in these less bare days her students may forget that it was given in mid-term to enable poor lads to return to their homes to fetch another bag of meal to carry them through to the end of the term. Times have changed for such; needy students now seek to earn a few pounds between sessions as Purser on pleasure-steamers or as assistants in offices where there is a seasonal rush of work. America's poor aspirants to a College career resort to even more strenuous and un-academic methods of earning the requisite dollars. The student in such cases tackles his own problem of poverty; he is probably the better man for it, and those habits born of self-help and necessity may lead to that capacity for organisation which is the highest-priced commodity in any market; but there is another side to the matter,—he may suffer in the way, with lasting ill-consequences to health or healthy outlook.

The problem in India is more grievous than in the West. In the first place there is almost no chance of the poor but deserving aspirant to academic distinction making a little between terms to keep himself. Again, though of charitable organisations and individual benefactions there is a creditable number, yet their distributions sometimes give

rise to the question whether their tendency is not rather towards inadequately assisting many, some of them of indifferent quality at best, rather than effectively aiding those whom to help would be a social boon.

Examination *Howler*:

She burst into peals of tears.

Of Birthday Honours none has been more worthily bestowed than that of Knighthood on Professor W. K. Craigie. Some of our readers will recall with pleasure the visit of Prof. and Mrs. Craigie of Oxford to Calcutta in 1921-2. The former frequently suffered the penalty of being one of the editors of the great *Oxford Dictionary*; at the round table we all put posers to him on literature, philology, and anything else that occurred to us; but he was a work of general reference in himself. He was then specially interested in simplifying the pronunciation of English to those who were not of "the people of the tongue." His system has been extensively adopted both West and East. Two of its keenest advocates were the late Prof. Scrymgeour of our Scottish Churches College, his fellow-student in bygone days in St. Andrew's University, and Lady Craigie, to whose credit is a 'systematised' edition of *Ivanhoe*, and much indirect service for the *Dictionary* that cannot be properly or fully evaluated.

Lady Craigie introduced many Oxford dons to haggis and Darjeeling tea, and has doubtless done a similar service by these delicacies among the dons of Chicago University, to which her husband and she have now transferred their allegiance. We take the liberty of quoting from a recent letter of hers a passage which will be welcomed by her old friends and will introduce them and others to a bit of American scenery:—

"As Louisville is only 100 miles from the Mammoth Cave of Kentucky, we made up our minds to take advantage of the fact, so after the meetings were finished about a dozen of us set off South. We arrived about 7 o'clock, the latter part of the journey being made in a one-coach train, with a stove burning in it. The Cave is among the hills. . . after dinner we arrayed ourselves in weird garments,—the men in dark blue overalls, and the women in grey knicker-bockers and jackets, and all wearing red handkerchiefs on our heads. . . . About 8 o'clock we set off with the guide to the Cave which is just

beside the hotel. Each second person was given a lantern to carry as of course there is no light in the Cave. 'Mammoth' is the only word one can apply to it. On Friday night we wandered about in it for more than three hours, and again on Saturday morning, and even then we had only seen a very small part of it. There are four routes, one takes ten hours to cover, another six hours, and the other two three hours each. We have seen the caves in the Ardennes and those in Moravia. The stalactites in those are much finer, but the caves themselves cannot compare in size with this one. Here they have made no attempt to light up with electricity as they have in those others,—it would be much too big a job. We had to do some very heavy climbing in some parts of the cave. To get from one cave on a lower level to the one higher up, we had to climb what is known as the 'Corkscrew.' It is exactly like a corkscrew standing straight up, cut in the rock (it must have been made by an underground river at one time). You reach the entrance to it by climbing two steep ladders, and then you enter this thing. Your shoulders touch the rocks on both sides, and the roof is touching your head and back all the time. Each second person carries a lantern, but it is not of much use to the person in between, because the first man has gone on round the next bend, and the following one has not arrived at the one behind. Sometimes there is no foothold to climb by, and one has to search in the dark for a small projection of a rock to pull oneself up by. . . . One part of the route is known as the 'Grecian Bend,' as one is bent almost double for quarter of a mile. This is followed by the 'Tall Man's Relief,' where one can at last stand upright. Another is called 'The Fat Man's Misery,' where the path is in the narrow bed of the old stream about waist-deep, and so narrow that one sometimes has to go sideways to get along at all. In addition to all this there are innumerable immense galleries and halls to be traversed. One hall looks like a great Egyptian Temple. The river Styx runs in the lowest levels, and is reached after a long descent. Part of it is traversed in a boat and the roof at times comes so low that the passengers have to crouch as low as possible.

The cave was discovered by a man called Hutchen in 1809. He had wounded a bear and followed it to its den which was in the cave. Of course they had no idea of the extent of it for a very long time!"

In one of his addresses in the course of which he expresses some apprehension of risk in the sudden introduction of science into Oriental

educational institutions Mr. (now Lord) Balfour points out that the West has been more or less safeguarded by the fact that the evolution of science has been gradual there, and consequently traditions and views have had time and opportunity to adapt themselves to the new theories and discoveries. There is almost a realisation of a kindred apprehension in the following passage occurring in an interesting narrative of a missionary tour entitled *Through Jade Gate and Central Asia* (1927; p. 224) by Miss M. Cable and Miss F. French:—

“The trend of political events during the last few years has resulted in movements no less epoch-making than were the invasions of the Mongols and the Huns. A wave of race-consciousness and of national enthusiasm has swept over the people of Central Asia and caused them to hearken to any voice which has promised to secure them the liberty and self-determination they so much covet. ‘The East is undergoing a concentrated process of adaptation which, with us, was spread over centuries, and the result is not so much *evolution* as *revolution*’ ”.

There is a story told of a Scottish comedian who had so much bettered himself by trekking South that a friend who saw him take his seat in the express for the North-country asked him in surprise whether he was leaving London for good. He replied: “No, I’m just going back to fetch my brother.”

There is a not dissimilar ring in the following culled from the afore-mentioned *Through Jade Gate* (p. 226):—

“ . . . after some hours of sleep, we got up to find the courtyard invaded by a band of men travelling from their homes in Shansi to their business in Kucheng. They were all employees of a large firm, and by the terms of their agreement were allowed to visit Shansi once in five years. An unwritten law exacts that the journey south be taken in a cart with every appearance of affluence, lest fellow-townsmen should scoff and say: ‘They went to Kow Wai¹ to make a fortune, and have come back penniless vagrants.’ A subtle appreciation of the ethics of filial piety has made it customary for the whole party when leaving home again to do so on foot, the suggestion being that every

¹ “The whole territory stretching from the gate of Kiyaukwan (the frontier fort of China at the terminus of the Great Wall) to the frontier of Siberia is known by the Chinese as Kow Wai- Without the Mouth’. To the Chinese it carries the impression of enforced exile.....” (*ibid.*, p. 171).

available dollar has been left with aged parents, and that the son starts out again a poor man to seek his fortune."

O wad some power the Giftie gie us
To see oursels as ithers see us!

It is alleged that Sir Michael Sadler recently expressed himself to the effect that Bengal is so laughterless that had he seeds of laughter and could they take root he would sow them there.

In Dr. McGovern's recent story of his travels in the lands of the Incas and the jungles of Brazil we read that a professional humourist was advertised to have talent to make even an Englishman smile!

A. H. H.

TOPICS FROM PERIODICALS.

AN IVORY DESCRIBED BY JEHANGIR.

At a time when Mughal painting was attracting considerable attention a Mughal style in ivory carving was discovered, but writers have been beautifully vague as to what this style was (writes Mr. Ajit Ghose in *Rupani*, No. 23). No doubt a considerable amount of ivory work was done for the Mughal Emperors and nobles. Caskets with medallions of the Emperors and furniture are not uncommon but most of such work appears to belong to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It may be possible to detect Mughal inspiration in the floral reliefs on these. A very interesting account of a remarkable ivory occurs in Jehangir's memoirs, which, as it has never been quoted before, will bear reproduction. "One of the royal slaves who was serving in the seal-cutting departments prepared and placed before me a design such as I had never seen or heard of before. As it is exceedingly strange a detailed description of it is given. In the shell of a filbert four compartments had been carved out of ivory. The first compartment was one of wrestlers, in which two men were engaged in wrestling, a third was standing with a spear in his hand, a fourth with a sling. Another was sitting with his hands placed on the ground, while in front of him were laid a piece of wood, a bow and a pot. In the second a throne had been made, above which a *shamiyana* (a tent-fly or canopy) was depicted, and a man of wealth (a prince) was seated on the throne with one leg placed over the other and a pillow at his back. Five servants were standing around and before him, and tree-boughs threw a shade over the throne. In the third compartment is a company of rope-dancers, who have raised upright a pole with three ropes fastened to it. A rope-dancer upon it (qu: on the ropes?) has taken hold of his own right foot with his left hand behind his head, and standing on one foot has placed a goat on the top of the pole. Another person has thrown a drum on his neck and is beating it, whilst another man is standing with his hands lifted up and looking at the rope-dancer. Five other men are also standing, of whom one has a stick in his hand. In the fourth compartment there is a tree, below which the figure of the revered (hazrat) Jesus is shown. One person has placed his head at Jesus' feet, and an old man is conversing with Jesus and four others are standing by."

Jehangir shrewdly remarks that the piece was probably the work of some skilled artist which the slave was palming off as his own. I am tempted to make a similar guess with regard to the chess-piece in the Cabinet of Medals of the Bibliotheque National that the inscription was probably cut by somebody who wanted to pass it off as his own. The ivory described by Jehangir was probably Goa work.

FITZ GERALD'S 'UMAR KHAYYAM.

In 1857 Fitz Gerald completed his first draft of the poem. In January, 1858, he sent it to *Frazer's Magazine*. After waiting many months Fitz Gerald, in 1895, recovered his neglected manuscript, and made a re-draft of the poem, which he printed privately in an edition of 250 copies, most of which he gave to Quaritch who had ill success in disposing of some of them at 6*d.* a copy, and the remainder were sold from a stand in St. Martin's Lane at a penny each.

Since the appearance of this modest book millions of copies have been sold in hundreds of editions, and it has been translated into almost every language in the world, as well as into Greek and Latin. It is almost impossible to believe that this poem was returned to the translator. A few copies were in the hands of Edward Cowell, George Borrow, and W. B. Donne, but one day a spiritual-looking man threw down a big parcel of them in Quaritch's shop in Castle Street, Leicester Square, and said, "Quaritch, I make you a present of them."

There were 200 copies. Swinburne related how he and Rosetti invested sixpence each in six copies, and when they went next day for more copies to give to friends the man at the stall demanded two pence a copy. Rosetti pretended to be very indignant and remonstrated, but bought a few more copies nevertheless. In a few weeks many of the remaining copies were sold at a guinea each, and lastly at seven guineas each. On June 1st, 1905, Messrs. Sotheby sold the little brochure for £46.

Compare the penny copy of the poem, a little quarto pamphlet of 21 pages (with 13 pages of introduction) and without an author's name, stitched in brown paper, with the sumptuous copy that Messrs. Sotheran and Co. had bound for them by Messrs. Sangorski and Sutcliffe, which has been described as the finest and most remarkable specimen of binding ever designed and produced at any period or in any country. This masterpiece of absolute richness of design and beauty of decoration is

studded with 1,050 precious stones, rubies, turquoises, amethysts, topazes, olivines, garnets, and emeralds, each in a gold setting, firmly embedded in the leather, and priced at £1,000. It is the result of two years of labour.

MUSLIMS AND BENGALI LITERATURE.

The honours in this field (writes Mr. Rames Basu in the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, Vol. IV, No. 1) are almost equally divided between the Hindus and Muslims of this period. Like the *Urdu* language of upper Hindusthan, a mixed language called *Musalmāni Bānglā* was evolved in Bengal, but in spite of a movement in its favour, it attained neither power nor success as a literary vehicle. Apart from this, there was real literary merit and charm in the pure Bengali songs, poems, epics and philosophical writings of the Muslims, who seem to have poured their hearts out therein.

It is curious that, while the Hindus are not known to have taken up any Muslim story for literary treatment (except events of local history), the Muslims were not so successful with Muslim themes as with Hindu ones. This is a literary puzzle yet remaining to be solved. It was however a feature of the Muslim writers that most of them took recourse to the Arabic script and foreign-sounding Saracenic titles, even when their language was a very commendable Bengali. Another point worth notice is that while the Hindus had no purely secular literature, the Muslim either wrote or translated stories concerned with the loves of men and women, thus introducing a new note in Bengali literature.

We are indebted to Maulvi Abdul Karim of Chittagong for discovering and editing a number of Bengali works by Muslims; and to Ramani Mohan Mallik and Braja Sundar Sanyal for their collections of Vaishnava songs by Muslim composers. A popular form was the *Bāra-māsyā* poems, often full of delicate sentiments, drawn from both Hindu and Muslim themes. Some of these were: *Sakhir Bāramās*, by Sheikh Jalal, *Jaigunér Bāramās*, *Meher Negarer Bāramās*, by Muhammad Hāri Pandit, *Rādhār Bāramās* by Kumar Ali Pandit and *Silalér Bāramās* by Muhammad Akbar.

The Muslim themes had reference to the lives and activities of the prophet and the Khalifas. The touching incidents of the Muharram were of course a favourite topic. Some of the best productions of this type are the *Amir Jung* of Sheikh Mansur and the *Imām Jātrār Puthi*.

The preeminent Muslim poet of Bengal was Saiyad Aláwal who flourished in the XVIIth Century and translated the *Padmávat* of Malik Muhammad Jaisi and composed the *Hapṭpayakar*, the *Sekandarnámáh*, *Sayaful-Mulk* and *Badiyuzzamán*. Next comes Daulat Qázi, the author of *Sati Mayná* and *Lor-Chandrání*.

Other poems worth mention are: the *Tamimgulal* and *Chaitanya Silal* by Muhammad Akbar and the *Jámini Bahál* by Karimulla. The life incidents of the Pirs, of the fighting Ghazis and of some of the popular Muslim heroes were given literary shape. Of the Pirán songs those referring to Satyapir and Mánik Pir are the most numerous. Of the Ghazi songs, the song of Shamsheer Ghazi is popular in East Bengal. Ishákhan of Khizrpur figures in some of the ballads recounting the martial exploits of the chieftains.

Metaphysical works written in a poetic strain were another achievement of the Muslims. In these Hindu and Muslim ideas were generally commingled. The best known author is Ali Rázá alias Kánu Fakir who wrote the *Jñán-Ságar*, the *Dhyán-málá*, the *Siráj-kulup* and the *Yoga-kalandar*.

Coming to Hindu themes, we cannot but be struck with the ease and ability with which these were handled by the Muslim writers, not only where they involved Hindu characters, but also Hindu gods and goddesses. It is sometimes impossible to distinguish their works from those of the Hindus themselves. We have the *Goraksha-vijaya* by Sheikh Faizulla from the Nathic Chronicles, and the *Behula Sundari* by Hamidulla from the Padmapurána. Themes from the Shákta literature were also taken up by Muslim authors who did not hesitate to invoke the supreme Being as Mother. To name only a few, there were: Sayad Zafar Ali Khan, Mirza Husain Ali, Ali Raja and Janab Ali Khan, whose songs to Shyámá (*the Dark Mother*, a name of Kali), were once no less popular than those of Rámprasad.

Whatever place may be assigned to the above-named products of the Muslim mind of Bengal, their Vaishnava songs must be counted among the gems of our Bengali literature. The height to which the spirit of toleration must have reached with even some of the devout Muslims is well exemplified in these, where the idolatrous and polytheistic imagery might surely have proved a deterrent. Evidently it was the lyric possibilities of the mystic symbolism that attracted them. To them Krishna and Radha were not divine beings, but only symbolic names of the relations between God and the human soul. It is also to be noticed that the appeal of this symbolism was apparently greater than

that of the Sufistic mysticism for the Muslims of Bengal, who were distinctly more successful when they took the former as their theme.

By far the greatest Muslim Vaishnava poet was Sayed Martujá, to whom we have already referred, who flourished in the XVIIth Century. His songs have the depth and directness, the simplicity and spontaneity, of those of Chandidas himself. He was fittingly called Martujá-Hind for his Hindu proclivities. Some of the other Muslim Vaishnava poets are: Sayad Aláwal, Muhammad Hasim, Ali Mian, Champa Ghazi Pandit, Nasir Mahmud, Kamar Ali Pandit, Mirza Fai-zulla, Shah Akbar (sometimes identified with the Emperor Akbar without appreciable reason) Ali Raja or Kanu Fakir, Sal Beg, Sheikh Lal, Mirza Kangáli. The interest of Muslims in the Ghátu songs, which are Vaishnava in tendency, have remained unabated for several centuries, and they have added to its literature.

Muslim patronage was responsible for the production of some classical Hindu works in Bengali. Sultan Husain Shah and his son Nasrat Shah, are highly praised in not a few Bengali works as promoters of Hindu Literature. Two of their high officials, Parágal Khan and Chhuti Khan are definitely known to have commissioned the Bengali translation of the Mahabharata.

Even up to this day the Muslims of Bengal have not lost their love for the literature of the land they live in, and in spite of the frequent political machinations which from time to time tend to separate the two communities, we are glad to notice a latter-day revival of great promise by the re-entry of Muslim authors of talent into the field of Bengali Literature.

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